

THE Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION

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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

OPENING OF THE EDUCATION DEBATE.

THE debate upon the second reading of the Elementary Education Bill commenced on Monday night with an able speech from Mr. Dixon, M.P., in which the main points of objection to that measure were stated with great clearness and breadth. Last Thursday evening Mr. Dixon gave notice of his intention, on the motion that the Bill be read a second time, of moving as an amendment that—"The House is of opinion that no measure for the elementary education of the people will afford a satisfactory or permanent settlement which leaves the question of religious instruction supported by public funds and rates to be determined by local authorities." The object of this amendment, as Mr. Dixon explained in the course of his speech, was to declare that the predominant sect in any school district should not give the colour to the religious teaching of the school. The effect of the Bill now before the country would be to hand over the main part of the religious education of the poorer classes to the Church, and, as Mr. Dixon remarked, this is a "fatal blot," and, we must add, a blot that must be wiped out before Mr. Forster's measure can be accepted by the Liberal constituencies of England. Mr. Illingworth seconded Mr. Forster's amendment in a maiden speech of great freshness, which promises to make the hon. member for Knarborough a very effective House of Commons debater. It was scarcely expected, we imagine, that Mr. Forster would speak so soon as he did on the first night of the debate, and his rising at so early a period was an indication of the anxiety of the Government to keep its followers together during the remainder of the discussion.

What shall we say of Mr. Forster's speech? At the outset we must say that it disappointed us. We expected a higher realisation of the position with which he had to deal, greater breadth and greater frankness. For the absence of the latter quality, in which, to do the hon. member but bare justice, he has hitherto been most conspicuous, he cannot be held to be personally accountable. The Bill is a Government measure, and Mr. Forster can speak in explanation of difficulties, or the intended solution of difficulties, only as he is permitted to speak. Had he, on Monday night, been speaking on his own responsibility alone, we believe that he would have set at rest much of the anxiety that

is felt, and justly felt, as to the future conduct of this measure. As it is, we are obliged to say that he made a speech which disappointed not only ourselves but many of the most influential members of the Liberal party, without whose support the moral influence of the present Government is worth nothing.

Mr. Forster made a mistake at the very beginning of his speech. There are probably no members of the House of Commons who are so anxious for an improved system of popular education, and a system that shall bring within its net the whole of the uneducated classes of the people, as those members who are prepared to support Mr. Dixon's amendment. There are no members who view the Bill as a whole with more, if so much, favour as they do. Mr. Forster should know this if he does not know it, yet he avowedly treated this amendment as hostile not only to the Bill but to Government itself. The question is, what would occur if the amendment were adopted? That occurrence could not throw out the Bill; it would simply act as an instruction to the Government with respect to one or at most two of the clauses which it contains. That is all that it would do, and Mr. Forster should be aware, as he is no doubt fully aware, that the form which the opposition has taken upon these points, has been settled not with any generally hostile intention, but simply because it is the best form in which to raise the whole question of the future religious education of the people of this country. It may be very true, looking at the matter from the Government point of view alone, that such a question can be fully discussed and decided only after deliberation "in Committee," but Mr. Forster knows as well as we do, that such a discussion as is needed cannot be got in Committee. The only fair and full opportunity which opponents of important points in such a measure as this have of securing a thorough discussion, is to raise that discussion on the second reading of the measure. It is all the more needful that this should be done in the present instance, because it is pretty well known that there will be no strong antagonism shown to other clauses of the Bill. The only questions to be fought are the questions raised in Mr. Dixon's amendment, and, as we have said, the only opportunity for their thorough discussion is that afforded on the motion for the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. Forster showed his thorough appreciation of the importance of these questions by the time which he gave to their consideration in his speech. It is quite clear from this speech that Mr. Forster does not now entertain the opinion which he expressed a few weeks ago, viz., that the religious difficulty would disappear on nearer approach. The fact is, that it increases, and must increase, in the present circumstances of this country, the more narrowly it is examined, and the more anxiety there is shown for its just and fair solution. What struck us, all through Mr. Forster's speech, was the fact that he has not even risen to an adequate sense of the greatness of this difficulty. We can scarcely expect him to place himself in the position of a Nonconformist with relation to the points now before the House of Commons. But it is not necessary that he should occupy the position of a Nonconformist in order that he should see, not their theoretical, but their practical, importance. We simply expect him, on such a

question as this, to occupy the position of an English statesman—an English statesman of adequate knowledge, high culture, and, as a statesman, of no especially sectarian sympathies. Now, what is most obvious in this Bill, is the apparently sectarian sympathy which it displays. Mr. Forster may very truly, as regards himself, say—as he did say on Monday night—that he never intended it should have an influence in favour of one predominant sect, or of any sect. He was "quite innocent," he stated, "of any such attempt, and of all belief that such a result would be produced." We fully believe that he never did intend this; but his acquaintance with the actual condition of England should have been at least sufficient to inform him that its practical working would be simply to extend an already unjust and nationally condemned Ecclesiastical Establishment. It may seem very fair in its face, but, if it were carried, it would be just the same as if the Legislature had endowed the Church of England with a few additional hundreds of thousands a year, and given her clergy a renewed right and strength to trample upon the Nonconformity of all the country districts of England.

Now, what we plainly say is, that the Nonconformists of England will not consent to this. They would be degenerate sons of a high ancestry if they did. And why should they consent to it? What are Churchmen, in respect to morals or religion, and especially in respect of their personal relation to the State, that the Nonconformists should consent to be in a position of subserviency to them? Are they more moral, more religious, or more patriotic? The very contrary, as all our history shows, is the fact. Then why should the Nonconformists consent to another brand of inferiority being placed upon them, as will be the case if this Bill should be passed in the form in which it has been submitted to the House of Commons?

Mr. Forster, in the defensive speech which he made on Monday night, took occasion to quote some remarks of Dr. Faber upon the Protestant and Saxon Bible. We should be glad to know against whom he quoted this extract. It is not the Nonconformists who object to the reading of the Bible—it is read in all Nonconformist public schools. What is objected to is the compulsory reading of a very human addition to the Bible, which may warp youthful minds to something very different to what that holiest of books teaches. We don't object to Bible reading; what we do object to is denominational teaching in addition to it, and denominational teaching of the worst and most pernicious kind. The "religious difficulty" does not originate with us: it originates with the Established Church. We want no sectarian privileges; we do not want the smallest recognition by the State of any one of our denominations. If they cannot maintain their ground without such a support as the State can afford to give them, our opinion is that they had better sink, and that the sooner they sink the better still. We require no State buttresses for our creeds or our principles. Why should the Church of England require them? And not merely this. Why should a Liberal Government be playing as it now is—it may be as Mr. Forster says, unconsciously—into the hands of that Church? We know perfectly well that we have not religious equality in England; but we

should deserve to be despised to the end of our lives if we allowed this Bill, which, if it were carried as it stands, would strengthen ecclesiastical supremacy, to be carried without our strongest and most effective protests.

We remind the Government of a significant declaration of Mr. Dixon's. The hon. member for Birmingham said:—"The tocsin had been sounded, the forces were mustering, and on the one side would be found the Church and on the other the Nonconformist bodies. Which of those two parties was likely to prevail, if they consulted history they could not have much doubt. But behind those armies there stood an enfranchised people; and the people had always given their vote in favour of equality." This is most undoubtedly a correct reading of history, but we should be sorry to attempt to move Mr. Forster by considerations of this kind alone. The fact is, that he has not sufficiently thought of what will be the practical operation of his Bill. On Monday night he warned his Dissenting friends "against standing in the way of this measure." But it is not the Dissenters alone, it is the country that stands in its way. No Government will find any "religious difficulty" to exist amongst us so long as it does not favour a sect in preference to the nation. When the "difficulty" takes such a form our opposition is as inevitable as it must be ultimately successful. The best thing will be for the Government to explain its intentions with greater frankness than it has done through Mr. Forster's speech, and so disarm all opposition.

THE BURIALS BILL.

On Wednesday next Mr. Osborne Morgan will move the second reading of this Bill, and there therefore remains less than a week for the presentation of petitions in its support, and for such communications with members as will ensure their votes in favour of the measure.

The letter of Mr. Carvell Williams, which appeared in our columns last week, has already dealt with the objections taken to certain portions of the Bill by some Nonconformists, and the subject was also discussed at the Parliamentary breakfast meeting reported elsewhere. If we are not misinformed, the explanations which have thus been given have removed, in some cases at least, the doubts with which the Bill was in some quarters regarded; but, even where exception is taken to particular clauses, it is surely bad policy to allow the rejection on the second reading of a measure likely, with some alteration in Committee, to effect a satisfactory settlement of a question which—whatever may be thought about it in towns—is of great practical importance to Nonconformists in country parishes.

Although the Bill has been before the country for a month, there is as yet no sign of the course which the supporters of the Establishment will take with regard to it. No notice of opposition appears in the votes, and, so far as we have seen, not one article on the subject has appeared in the Establishment journals, nor has the Church Institution, or any other body of the like kind, taken any public action concerning it. Lord John Manners referred to the Bill in the debate on the Scottish Church-rate Bill, as a retrogressive measure, but only because it would revive Church-rates—an objection which, if it be generally shared in by the occupants of the Conservative benches, can be fully met by a withdrawal of the clause to which his lordship referred.

"A Liberal Clergyman" has, in a letter to the *Daily News*, expressed himself as feeling greatly aggrieved by the necessity, laid upon him by law, of lately refusing to bury a young man because he died unbaptized.

"It has," he says, "pained me to be obliged to grieve a most respectable family in a time of sorrow. It has also pained me to be obliged to put a stumbling-block in the way of the Nonconformists of my neighbourhood. I vote for a Nonconformist member of Parliament. In my late and present parishes I count the Nonconformist minister among my best friends. . . . And, as a consequence of fair and kindly dealings with those whom too many Churchmen look upon as the Jews looked upon the Samaritans, I find that one-third of my communicants, and one-half of my confirmation candidates, are either the children of Dissenters or have been themselves Dissenters. And now, in obedience to this harsh rubric, I am obliged to offend a body of people who were being attracted to our communion."

Now it must be admitted that Mr. Morgan's Bill would only partly meet such a case, because, while permitting another minister to officiate, it allows the clergyman's disability to remain. That defect, however, is due to the consideration of the promoters

of the Bill for the feelings of clergymen and other Churchmen, and not to the want of it. It seemed to them that any meddling with the Rubric on their part might be regarded as an unjustifiable interference with matters beyond their concern, and that it was for Episcopalians, rather than Dissenters, to suggest the remedy for an admitted evil. If that remedy can be supplied by means of a clause in the Bill now before Parliament, no one will be better pleased than those who are responsible for its preparation. They wish to do justice all round, and it rests with Churchmen themselves to decide whether the work shall be done partially or perfectly.

THE LIBERATION SOCIETY AND THE EDUCATION BILL.

It is known to most of our readers that the Liberation Society has not taken any part in the discussions of recent years on the subject of popular education; the fact being that its friends were divided in opinion on the abstract question whether any system of State Education was desirable. A considerable change has of late taken place in the attitude of many of those who formerly objected to Government schemes of whatever kind; they now feeling that it is expedient for them to exert their influence to render any plan of national education as efficient and as little mischievous as possible. The result of this change has been that the Executive of the Liberation Society have been called upon to review their own position, and without departing from a neutral ground in regard to what may be termed the abstract question, they have concluded that, as the Government Education Bill contravenes the Society's principles, the Society is bound to exert its influence to secure an alteration of its provisions. The resolutions passed by the Committee will be found in another column, and it will be seen that they object to the bill because it will support schools "in which there may be imparted dogmatic religious instruction opposed to the wishes of both parents and ratepayers; and in which school attendance may be enforced by law"; because "the absolute power given to School Boards to determine the religious character of schools will inevitably lead to local conflicts, to secure ecclesiastical ascendancy on the one hand, and to protect the rights of conscience on the other"; and because "the most stringent Conscience Clause, which is dependent on the action of parents, will prove wholly inadequate for its intended purpose." We believe that the Society has placed itself in communication with its friends throughout the kingdom, to give practical effect to these resolutions, and those who wish to co-operate with them can obtain forms of petition and other practical information for the purpose.

NONCONFORMISTS AND PARLIAMENTARY QUESTIONS.

PARLIAMENTARY BREAKFAST.

The annual parliamentary breakfast, held under the auspices of the Liberation Society and the Dissenting Deputies, took place at the Cannon-street Hotel on Friday morning. There was a large attendance. Mr. Candlish, M.P., occupied the chair, and amongst those present were—Mr. Miall, M.P., Mr. Morley, M.P., Mr. C. Reed, M.P., Mr. Richard, M.P., Mr. Illingworth, M.P., Mr. M'Laren, M.P., Mr. M'Arthur, M.P., Mr. Gourley, M.P., Mr. Remington Mills, Mr. J. S. Bell, Mr. James Heywood, the Rev. Dr. Raleigh, the Rev. Dr. Mullens, the Rev. J. Kennedy, the Rev. C. Stovel, Mr. W. Edwards, Mr. Carvell Williams, the Hon. G. C. Brodrick, Mr. Fred. Harrison, Mr. James Bryce, Mr. George Potter, Mr. Shephard, Mr. D. Pratt, Mr. Skeats, Mr. Chas. Miall; the Rev. F. Trestrail, Mr. Thos. Gee; the Revs. D. Rowlands, T. Fison, B.A., A. Mackennal, B.A., R. W. Dale; Mr. J. M. Hare, Mr. H. R. Ellington; the Rev. Dr. Cooke, the Rev. A. Hannay, the Rev. R. Ashton, the Rev. P. W. Clayden, Mr. John Bennett, the Rev. H. Ierson, the Rev. Mark Wilks, the Rev. J. G. Rogers, The Rev. T. Hunter, the Rev. T. Aveling, the Rev. S. Williamson, Mr. Stafford Allen, Mr. S. R. Pattison, the Rev. R. Macbeth, the Rev. E. White, the Rev. G. C. Hutton, Mr. W. Green, the Rev. Clement Dukes, Mr. W. H. Michael, the Rev. R. H. Marten, B.A., Mr. W. G. Pocock, and many other Nonconformist ministers and laymen of the metropolis. Letters stating their inability to be present had been received from Sir John Bowring, Mr. Hadfield, M.P., Mr. Crum Ewing, M.P., Mr. Rathbone, M.P., the Rev. Dr. Edmond, the Rev. S. Martin, the Rev. T. Binney, Sir Geo. Young, the Rev. Dr. Sadler, Mr. O. Morgan, M.P., Mr. Baines, M.P., Sir Wilfred Lawson, M.P., Mr. R. Davies, M.P., the Rev. J. Martineau, Mr. Pease, M.P., and others.

After the breakfast had been cleared, Mr. CANDLISH, M.P., rose and said that, since they had last met in that room, great events had transpired. The Irish Church had been re-established on its

true and Divine basis—(Hear, hear)—and other triumphs in the same direction were in store for them. He believed that their principles were now on the eve of perfect consummation. In order to secure that, it was a question whether they should not cease attempting to lay off the branches of the State-Church. The time was at hand when they must go at once to the root, and when the question should be argued out on the broadest principles. (Hear, hear.) The chairman then proceeded to refer to the questions which would be brought before the meeting. Amongst others there was the University Tests Bill, which he believed would pass the House of Commons, and he also believed that the Lords would not have the temerity to throw it out. With regard to the Burials Bill, they expected the support of the Government to that measure. Last year the measure, introduced by their venerable friend Mr. Hadfield—(Hear, hear)—had been withdrawn, in order that the progress of a great Government measure should not be interrupted. With respect to education, although there might not be entire agreement amongst them, he thought the meeting need not be afraid to discuss even their differences. They all held the same principles. They only differed as to the development of those principles. (Cheers.)

The Hon. G. C. BRODRICK then addressed the meeting on the University Tests question, which, he remarked, now stood in a much higher and simpler position than it did before. He congratulated the meeting upon the end of their seven years' campaign. Mr. Gladstone had recently had placed in his hands a bill upon which their friends at Oxford and Cambridge and the Nonconformists were agreed. That bill put aside for ever permissive legislation. (Hear, hear.) He (Mr. Brodrick) called, however, especial attention to the clause respecting Headships of Colleges, which, he regretted, formed an exception to the character of the proposed measure. This clause was so illiberal and impolitic that it should be struck out. With respect to their prospects in the present session of Parliament, he must say that he believed in the entire sincerity of the Government upon this question. Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal party were united upon it, and he did not hesitate to say that if the Government were suspected of insincerity, the party that sat behind them would carry it through. (Hear, hear.) He believed, however, that it would pass rapidly after Easter, and that the Lords would have no excuse, as regards time, for throwing it out. There was another question upon which he wished to say a word. At this moment the Public Schools Commission had made it essential that the committees of the governing bodies of the seven great public schools should be composed exclusively of Churchmen. He most strongly objected to that. (Cheers.) It was wholly untenable. Why should the seven great schools be treated upon different principles from those that were applied to the Universities, to the endowed schools, and, as he believed would be the case, to the common schools? He protested, as a friend of religious liberty, of education, and especially as an Eton man against the rule. (Hear, hear.) He did so because he was not prepared to be cut off, as it were, from all the other education of the country. Such measures as this simply tended to stereotype the religious character of the people. What laid nearest his heart was the reunion of the churches, and he ventured to look forward to a time when there would be a moral, social, and religious unity, but that unity could never be realised until the last vestige of ecclesiastical monopoly was destroyed. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. JAMES HEYWOOD, F.R.S., stated that an application had been addressed to the Senate of the University of London by the Public Schools Commissioners, asking that the Senate would appoint one of their number to their Council, but the condition was affixed that he must be a Churchman. The Senate, under these circumstances, declined the request. (Cheers.) He believed that the Senate was now inclined to memorialise the Privy Council on the subject. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. W. H. MICHAEL, in obedience to a call from the Chair, then addressed the meeting on the Burial question; explaining some clauses in the bill which had been introduced, which, he said, had been misunderstood. He was afraid that their friends had misapprehended the present state of the law. The persons who had charge of the bill had simply charged the matter as far as the canon law and the rubrics were concerned. Having explained the nature of the present law, the speaker remarked that the bill simply proposed that persons of any religious denomination, or of no denomination, should be buried in their churchyards with the religious observances of the denomination, if any, to which he or she might belong. A notice was required, but it was only to prevent unseemly scenes. He thought the notice was an admirable mode of getting rid of a difficulty. (Hear, hear.) It was objected that it recognised the status of the incumbent, but while the Established Church existed this could not be avoided. (Hear, hear.) And it would be extremely imprudent to attempt to alter his status. The same answer might be given to the objection which had been expressed to the incumbent's claim for fees. They really could not touch the status of the incumbent in this respect. (Hear, hear.) The speaker proceeded to explain and defend the provision with respect to the maintenance of the churchyard out of the poor-rate, and said that he was sure the Nonconformists did not wish to have privileges without sharing any burden that others were obliged to share. It was to their interest to bear their own share of expenses. (Hear, hear.) He expressed his belief that this measure would become law, and that it would remove another grievance from which they had long suffered. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. THOMAS GEE, of Denbigh, said that the Burials Bill would do no good whatever to the Welsh people. The only advantage they would gain would be that their own ministers would be allowed to go to the grave, and there perform their burial services. At present they performed them outside of the churchyard; then, they could perform them inside. That was all the advantage they would get. They would still be obliged to pay the fees to the incumbent, and he maintained that that was a great hardship. (Cheers.) The burial-ground was the property of the parish, and he argued that if the fees should be paid, they should be paid only during the lifetime of the present incumbent. As it was, they would be compelled to pay fees, and the charge on the poor-rate as well. Another matter of which he complained was that there was no provision that the Dissenting minister might perform the services in the church. (Cheers and laughter.) The whole fact was, that they were paying too dear for what was to be granted to them. Looking at the paltry accommodation to be derived from the measure, he thought that unless something more satisfactory could be secured, they had either better wait, or at once press forward for all their rights. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN expressed the opinion that the questions raised by the previous speaker touched the question of disestablishment, and he thought they should try for, not what they liked, but what they could get. (Hear, hear.) The question was whether it would not be worth while to get something.

The Rev. J. G. ROGERS thought the bill would be a great gain, especially to Nonconformists in rural parishes. Their own burial-grounds were now closed by order of the Privy Council, and they were confined to the parish churchyard. The bill was not all that they wanted, but, having gained admission to the churchyard, they might by-and-by get admission to the church. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. MIAL, M.P., explained the general principle upon which these and all similar matters were brought forward. What they wanted to do was to establish equal rights. (Cheers.) They were willing to waive the property question until the question of disestablishment came up. Their first business was to establish the principle that they should enjoy all the rights that were enjoyed by Churchmen. (Cheers.)

Mr. GLOVER having made some remarks on the rubric to the Burial Service,

Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS, in reply to Mr. Gee, reminded that gentleman that last year the Welsh people petitioned largely in favour of a Burials Bill which did not propose to give them anything like as much as this would give them, and which contained the very clause relating to fees to which objection had now been taken. Having remarked upon the indignity of performing services outside of the churchyard, he congratulated the Welsh people upon the progress they were evidently making. (Cheers and laughter.) The subject then dropped.

Mr. RICHARD, M.P., next addressed the meeting on the education question. He said that it was a question upon which he was in a position of antagonism to the Government, and that it was no pleasure to him to be in such a position. (Hear, hear.) It had been a real luxury for himself and many others to find themselves, as they did last year, in perfect concord with the Government of the day. But there were great principles committed to their guardianship, and with regard to the measure now before the country, it was their business to see that some provision was made to protect the principle of religious equality. (Cheers.) There was no protection to the children of Nonconformists in that bill. (Hear, hear.) The conscience clause would be wholly inoperative. (Hear, hear.) In country districts it could not be acted upon to any extent. To expect poor men to take advantage of it was to expect what they had no right to expect. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the proposed new schools, to entrust to the hands of voters the power to decide what should be the denomination of the school revived the principle of concurrent endowment. (Hear, hear.) He objected also to the mode in which the local Boards were to be appointed, and pointed out what would be the probable operation of that part of the bill in Wales. Seven-eighths of the people of Wales were Nonconformists, but the power of determining the character of the school would be wholly in the hands of the clergy and the large landholders. Such a measure would make the Church of England still more obnoxious than it already was to Dissenters. He strongly objected also that the national schools should be converted into churches, where the services of the Established Church could be carried on. They had a right to demand an alteration of the bill, and unless the Government made large concessions, he predicted that the Liberal party would be split up. (Hear, hear.) The bill might be carried by the votes of their adversaries; but there could be nothing more disastrous than for a Government to carry its measures against its own friends. (Cheers.)

The Rev. R. W. DALE, of Birmingham, in response to numerous calls, then rose. Mr. Dale expressed his great satisfaction at the development of opinion upon this subject. Two or three weeks ago he had read with dismay the utterances of some of their friends. Mr. Forster might just as well have introduced three or four lines into his measure for the endowment of the Church in agricultural districts as to do what he had done, and as a fact, that would be the real result of the bill unless it were amended. (Hear, hear.) This should give them great concern. He might have appointed Scripture-readers in every parish, and the village schools being under the control of the clergy, they were just as effective agents of the Church as Scripture-readers would be. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the religious teaching

in day-schools, he thought it powerful in the creation of religious prejudice, but not of religious life. (Cheers.) He believed that if the bill were to become law there would be as many seizures for rates as there were under the old Church-rate law. (Hear, hear.) In that case the bill would get amended, but under a very rough process. He believed that the Government would require the very strongest pressure to amend the bill. As for the religious difficulty, they had produced what they thought to be a solution of it, but all that Mr. Forster had done was to hand it over to the parishes. (Cheers.)

Mr. MIAL, M.P., directed attention to the fact that notice had been given in the House of Commons last night on behalf of the Birmingham League of the following amendment to be given into the second reading of the measure:—

That this House is of opinion that no measure, for the elementary education of the people, will afford a satisfactory or permanent settlement, which leaves the question of religious instruction in schools, supported by public funds or rates, to be determined by local authorities.

In explanation of this amendment, Mr. Mial stated that it was the intention of Mr. Dixon and the Parliamentary members of the League to concentrate public attention on the weakest point of the bill. With regard to Mr. Dale's expression of surprise at some utterances on this question, he might explain that it had been the general feeling that they were safe in the hands of their friends. They had expected that there would be a recognition of the principle which had been embodied in the Irish Church Bill, and that such provisions would have been introduced into the measure as would have resulted in a homogeneous system. (Hear, hear.) They had hoped that their friends who had established religious equality in one part of the country would have established a similar system here. (Hear, hear.) The opposite of that, however, had been proposed. Instead of planting a germ which would grow and absorb itself into the life of the people, they had done nothing but strengthen denominationalism. The bill really took them back to a position from which they thought they had wholly escaped. (Hear, hear.) Nothing could be more disastrous than its tendency. (Cheers.) The main object which they (Nonconformists) had in view, was to put an end to a perpetual source of anxiety and difference between neighbour and neighbour, but now they were to have more theological rancour introduced than ever. (Hear, hear.) He agreed with the course that the League had taken, but they might depend upon it that if the bill passed the whole system of education would undergo a radical change in five years. (Hear, hear.) He should give all the support in his power to Mr. Dixon's motion. This was not a sectarian movement on their part. (Loud cheers.) They wanted no advantage to their own communities. (Hear, hear.) What they did want was if they were to have any religious teaching it should be undenominational. He was quite prepared to say that he was in favour of the State teaching only those subjects that were secular. (Hear, hear.) When that was done the religious communities would understand their own position and duty with regard to the question, and organise their own machinery, which they had hitherto failed to do. (Cheers.)

Mr. MORLEY, M.P., said that many members, with himself, regarded Mr. Dixon's proposed amendment as ungenerous, and hostile to the Government. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Gladstone had promised to give a candid consideration to the objections which had been made to the measure, but he (Mr. Morley) believed, although he was not very well acquainted with the forms of the House, that the effect of the success of that amendment would be to throw out the bill altogether.

Mr. CANDLISH explained that this was an error. The second reading could still take place.

Mr. MORLEY said he accepted the correction, but he wished to add his opinion that as they were dealing with a system of schools already established, some deference should be paid to those who had worked the system. He thought that Mr. Winterbotham's amendments were thoroughly satisfactory. He believed that the working classes were in favour of such an amount of religion as was provided for by Mr. Winterbotham's amendments, and he again regretted that Mr. Dixon's amendments had been put on the paper. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. ILLINGWORTH, M.P., rose to explain his own position. He was a member of the League, but he was also a Nonconformist, and he had a higher regard for Nonconformity than he had for the League. No one also had a higher regard for the ministry than he had. (Hear, hear.) But it was to be regretted that, after the history of last year, Mr. Forster should have brought in this bill. He could not understand where Mr. Forster had got his inspiration from, unless it was from the Conservative side. (Hear, hear.) Now, they all agreed that the bill was a most audacious measure—(cheers)—but it was a matter of expediency how it should be opposed. He called attention to what had taken place in reference to a Scotch bill last year, when hostile action on the second reading was withdrawn, and in Committee the minority against it could get together only ten members. Nothing could be done in Committee, and they should infinitely prefer that the bill should be withdrawn than that it should pass as it was. (Cheers.) It introduced dangers compared with which any advantages which it offered, were of far inferior importance. They must battle it on the second reading. That was the wisest policy and the course that would rouse the Liberal party. (Cheers.)

Mr. J. R. MILLS asked what was meant by religious instruction in popular schools? It meant teaching the Church Catechism and nothing else, and to teach that catechism to the children of

Dissenters was to teach them falsehood at the very beginning of life. (Hear, hear.) They must oppose the whole proposals for religious instruction in this measure. If it passed it would be nothing but a curse to their children. (Cheers.)

Mr. JOHN GLOVER thought it would be wise not to use exaggerated language upon this question, and expressed his opinion that several speakers had erred in that respect; and Mr. J. M. HARR made some practical suggestions.

Mr. M'LAREN, M.P., said he had originally thought favourably of the measure, but had since found that its working would be seriously objectionable. He could not, however, be a party to opposing the second reading.

The Rev. C. STOVEL said he concurred very much in the remarks made by Mr. Mial. What was wanted was that national education should be national in character. A great portion of the bill could be carried on that principle. All that provided for dogmatic teaching should be excluded, but what tended to make children good citizens should be better taught. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. J. G. ROGERS suggested that a large deputation of Nonconformists should wait upon the Government. They could not suffer a measure of this character to pass. It was far more painful for them to oppose the Government than it appeared to be to the Government to oppose them. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Forster, however, should be made to understand what they meant. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. WILLIAM EDWARDS explained that he differed from some of his colleagues on some aspects of the education question. With regard to the bill he was given them equal rights, but not with respect to of opinion that, on some points, the Government had religious liberty. His own conclusion was that the difficulties of this question were almost insuperable. Mr. Edwards proceeded to enumerate several objections to the measure, directing attention amongst other subjects, to the strong power which it gave to the Privy Council. He hoped that any opposition to it would be based upon the principle of religious equality, but for himself he should be glad if the Government were to find so much difficulty connected with it that they determined to leave the whole question alone. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. EDWARD WHITE thought it important that the views of the working men should be represented. If they were to understand that, by this bill, the education of the country was to be handed over to the clergy, they would take a strong part against it. (Hear, hear.) However, he believed that if it passed, it would very considerably increase the opposition to the Established Church.

The Rev. G. O. HUTTON, of Paisley, stated that he had lost all horror, if he ever had any, of secular education. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the bill, he thought it was contrary to the principles of religious liberty, and extended State-interference in religious matters. He hoped that the members of Parliament present and others, might be able to arrest the policy of the Government. He called attention to what he considered to be other signs of a retrogressive policy on the part of the Government, such as the proposed bill for granting loans for ecclesiastical purposes in Ireland, and hoped it would be withstood.

The Rev. P. W. CLAYDEN moved, and Mr. W. G. POCOCK seconded, a vote of thanks to the Chairmen, Mr. Candlish, M.P., and Mr. Mial, M.P., the latter gentleman having occupied the chair on Mr. Candlish's being obliged to retire. The vote was carried by acclamation, and terminated one of the most important meetings ever held in connection with Nonconformist interests in the City of London.

THE IRISH CHURCH CONVENTION.

On Tuesday's sitting of the Convention, the Earl of Carrick brought the report of the committee appointed to consider the distribution of the lay representatives, and the Rev. W. S. King that of the Clerical Committee appointed in like manner to arrange the proportion of clerical delegates assigned to each diocese. Both reports passed without alteration. On the motion of Dr. Griffin, of Dublin, power was given to the Diocesan Synod to annex a parochial district to any church that did not possess it at present, with the consent of the incumbent whose benefice was affected by such arrangement. It was also agreed that in each diocese a Diocesan Council should be yearly appointed, to exercise such powers as the Diocesan Synod might entrust to it. Subsequently the assembly considered the status of parishes and parochial organisation. On Clause 1, which provided that every churchwarden should be a communicant, Lord Longford moved that this qualification be not required; and, as it was felt that great difficulty would be experienced in enforcing this rule in all parishes, on a division Lord Longford's amendment was carried by 148 votes to 80. It was subsequently determined that one of the churchwardens should be appointed by the incumbent, or his curate in his absence, and the other should be elected at the Easter Vestry by the registered vestrymen of the parish; and after agreeing to the clause the Convention adjourned.

At the commencement of Wednesday's sitting, the Convention, on the suggestion of the Archdeacon of Meath, appointed a committee to whose revision all statutes passed by it should be committed previous to their being read a third time by the House. The first statute which was sent up to the Committee was the important one relating to the Representative Body of the Church. It enacts that this Church Body, which is to hold all the property of the Church which may now or hereafter belong to it under the provisions of the Irish Church Act, shall consist of

all the archbishops and bishops of the Church of Ireland for the time being, of twelve clerical and twenty-four lay members elected from the several dioceses, and of twelve co-opted members elected by the forty-eight original members of the body. At the opening of the day's session, the statute as amended was laid upon the table, when the Vice-Chancellor proposed an additional clause, which would enable the Church Body to remove any of its members who had become disqualified for that office. This addition was made without a discussion. The Rev. Dr. Reeves proposed that the words "National Synod" should, throughout the proceedings of the Convention, be substituted for "General Synod." This proposal led to a long discussion, and was rejected. Subsequently a lively debate arose on the question whether women who were owners of property in any parish should be entitled to vote by means of voting papers at the election of vestrymen, synodmen, and parochial nominators in the several parishes in which they reside. It was eventually rejected by 158 to 108 votes. The consideration of parochial organisation was then proceeded with. It was agreed that there should be a select vestry in every parish of not more than twelve persons, who should be elected annually by the vestry, and that to this vestry the charge of all parochial, charity, and Church funds in the parish should be committed. It was further decided that appointments to cures should be made by a Board of Nominators, these Nominators to be elected, one half by the parishioners and one-half by the Diocesan Synod. The proposal that representatives should be remunerated for their attendance at future sittings of the Church Governing Body was rejected.

At Thursday's sitting the first order of the day was Chapter III. of the draft Constitution, being the statute relating to patronage and the election of bishops and other dignitaries. The Earl of Carrick introduced the statute, and moved its adoption. The Rev. Dr. Reichel moved a variety of amendments, the first of which he agreed to hold in suspension until a decision had been arrived at upon two propositions by the Hon. and Rev. W. C. Plunket, providing that the Committee of Patronage should consist of equal numbers of parochial and diocesan nominators, and that the committee should not be obliged to submit more than one name to the bishop for institution to a vacant benefice. The first of these propositions was adopted, and the second was under discussion when the debate was adjourned. The election for the Representative Body was then proceeded with. It is to consist of the bishop of each diocese, with one clerical and one lay representative for each, and twelve "experts," or professional assessors, who are to be co-opted.

On Friday an important question came up for consideration in reference to a Court of Appeal for the settlement of matters on which a difference of opinion should arise in Diocesan Synods between the bishops and the majority of the other orders. On a former day, it was decided by a bare majority of one, that the Bench of Bishops should be constituted the Court of Appeal. However, on the occasion of the division on that day, some dissatisfaction was felt that such an important subject should have been decided in the absence of a large number of delegates; and accordingly the Archbishop of Dublin intimated that the bishops were desirous of having a second vote taken on the matter, and that unless the majority in their favour was considerably larger they would yield, and would ask that the General Convention itself should be constituted the final Court of Appeal. The question now came up again for decision on an amendment moved by the Earl of MEATH that the General Convention should be the Court of Appeal; and, after a very lively discussion, which was taken part in by a large number of the delegates, the amendment was carried by a large majority of both the orders of clergy and laity. The voting was as follows:—Clergy—ayes, 101; noes, 63. Lay—ayes, 187; noes, 34. The amendment was therefore adopted by a majority of 39 clerical and 153 lay members. Their lordships signified their willingness to accept the decision of the House. The appointment of clergy to benefices was then taken up on a motion of the Rev. Dr. Reichel, that on the board of parochial and diocesan nominators meeting to make the selection the bishop should preside, and should have the casting vote. Lord Carrick suggested that the motion should be altered so that it would be optional with the bishop whether he should preside or not. Dr. Reichel accepted the suggestion, and the motion, as amended, was agreed to.

THE COUNCIL AT ROME.

The article relating to Infallibility (an additional article of the *Schœma* distributed on the 7th inst.), is drawn up in the following terms:—

Chapter to be added to the Decree upon the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff, to the effect that the Roman Pontiff cannot err in the definition of matters of faith or morals.

The Holy Roman Church possesses the supreme and complete primacy and principality over the Universal Catholic Church, which it verily and humbly acknowledges to have received with the plenitude of the power of the Lord Himself in the person of St. Peter, the Prince of Apostles, of whom the Roman Pontiff is the successor.

And as, above all things, it behoves it to make clear the truth of the faith, all questions which may arise upon matters of faith must be determined by its judgment, seeing that otherwise the words of the Lord Jesus Christ (*Tu es Petrus*, &c.) would be disregarded.

That which has been set forth upon this point has been proved by the results, as in the Apostolic See the Catholic religion has always been preserved immaculate,

and its doctrine has always been maintained at its fulness (*celebrata*).

Consequently, we inculcate, with the concurrence of the Holy Council, and we define as a dogma of faith, that, thanks to the Divine assistance, it is that the Roman Pontiff, of whom it was said in the person of St. Peter by our same Lord Jesus Christ, "I have prayed for thee," &c., cannot err when, acting in his quality as supreme teacher of all Christians, he defines what the Universal Church must hold in matters of faith and morals, and that the prerogative of inerrancy and infallibility extends over the same matters to which the infallibility of the Church is applicable. But if any one should dare—which may God forbid!—to controvert our present definition, let him know that he departs from the truth of the faith.

According to the *Weekly Register*, the Bishop of Orleans, nearly all the French bishops, and all the episcopate, with the exception of twenty members, have given in their adherence to the formula which is to be adopted. The *North German Gazette* says:—"The first impression created by this document is one of deep regret. There have been but few instances which so strikingly show to what an extent the human mind can fall into error." It is not believed that the discussion will come on before the second fortnight in April.

It is stated that Cardinal Antonelli has instructed the Papal Nuncio at Paris to reply affirmatively to Count Daru's demand relative to sending an ambassador to the Ecumenical Council. It has been reported that the Prince de Broglie would be sent to the Council as the representative of France, but it is now said that the French Government has decided not to send any special ambassador to Rome, but to enlarge M. de Banneville's powers so as to enable him to represent France at the Ecumenical Council.

The French note of February 20 does not, it is said, touch the infallibility dogma, but prefers a request that France may be heard through a special envoy on the questions raised by the publication of the Twenty-one Canons, which tend to the establishment of theocracy. These canons embody as doctrines the principles enunciated by the Syllabus of 1864. The publication of these canons is a new fact, whereof the French Government knew nothing when expressing its resolution on non-intervention at the Ecumenical Council in its circular of the 9th September, and by the declarations of Count Daru in the Senate on this subject. The expectation that the Council would confine itself to the examination of purely religious matters, as expressed by the speech of the Emperor to the Corps Législatif in November last, has been deceived by the publication of the canons which constitute a rupture with the principles of Government and modern society, and was a violation of the law which no Government in Europe could accept.

According to a German paper, the opposition bishops have lodged a protest against the revised order of business to be transacted by the Council.

A letter from Rome says the Opposition appears to have again become formidable. "The Pope's speech at the exhibition has estranged the eastern bishops, just as they had made their submission; and the almost completed schism of the Armenians of Constantinople inclines them to make the same resistance. Nor is there less danger of schism in Catholic Europe. The letter of Father Gratry, and the attacks of Monsignor Strossmeyer and Monsignor Haynald on the Roman Breviary, are denounced at the Vatican as heretical; and the last two prelates are now stigmatised as correspondents of German papers, noted for their hostility to Catholicism. The Pope has placed an interdiction on the pamphlet of Father Antonio Isaia, entitled "Il Papa-Ré, ed i Popoli Cattolici." Nevertheless, a copy has been conveyed by a mysterious hand into the apartment of every member of the Council, and the pamphlet is eagerly read by the Fathers, while the Romans buy up the clandestine copies at any price. Monsignor Nardi endeavours in his scurrilous articles to fasten the responsibility for all this uproar on the Bishop of Orleans, who, on his part, complains of the inactivity of the Marquis de Banneville, urging that the Ambassador of France ought to identify himself with the Opposition. Such is the spectacle of unity at this moment presented in the Eternal City."

"It will interest many people to know," says the *Standard*, "that Dr. Newman has written to his Bishop at Rome, Dr. Ullathorne, stigmatising the promoters of Papal Infallibility as an insolent, aggressive faction, praying that God may avert this threatened peril from the Church, and affirming his conviction that, if He does not see fit to do so, it is because He has chosen to delay the Church's ultimate triumph for centuries."

The *Church Review* hears that the Bishop of London intends making a raid upon all the Ritualist clergy in his diocese—the monitions being now in preparation.

The Pope has confirmed the appointment by the Propaganda of the Most Rev. Dr. McGittigan to the Archiepiscopal See of Armagh and Primacy of All Ireland.

Mr. Stephen Gladstone, a son of the Prime Minister, was on Sunday ordained a priest of the Church of England by the Bishop of Winchester, in the parish church of Lambeth.

A PASTORAL FROM CARDINAL CULLEN, cautioning his flock against Fenianism and secret societies generally, was read in all the Irish Roman Catholic chapels on Sunday. In Dublin a number of persons left the church while it was being read.

THE NEW BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH.—We have been informed (says the *Liverpool Mercury*) that the Rev. John Griffiths, D.D., rural dean, and vicar of Llandilo Vawr, Carmarthen, is to be the new Bishop of St. Asaph. He is a man of great eloquence, and

his fame as a Welsh preacher is well known throughout the Principality.

REPRESSION OF SUNDAY TRAFFIC IN EDINBURGH.—The Lord Provost and Magistrates have issued a proclamation against the increasing practice of Sabbath shop traffic, warning offenders that the law will be put in force, and calling upon the citizens to discourage all unnecessary Sunday trading.—*Daily Review*.

THE BISHOPRIC OF CHICHESTER.—The Bishopric of Chichester, lately rendered vacant by the decease of the Right Rev. A. T. Gilbert, D.D., has been conferred on the Rev. Richard Durnford, M.A., late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, Archdeacon of Manchester, Canon of Manchester, Rural Dean, and Rector of Middleton, Lancashire.—*Manchester Courier*.

THE SUGGESTED REVISION OF THE AUTHORISED VERSION.—The *Record* believes that the division of opinion among the bishops is such, that the Committee of the southern province will virtually follow the northern, and allow the premature and ill-timed Biblical revision movement to go to sleep. The *John Bull* understands that the Bishop of Winchester, the Chairman, has summoned the Committee of the Convocation of Canterbury on the revision of the Authorised Version of the Holy Scriptures for an early day.

THE DE FOE MEMORIAL.—Active steps as to the placing a memorial over the remains of Daniel De Foe, in the restored burial-ground of Bunhill-fields, are being taken, it being the wish of the promoters to close the subscription list by the period of the commencement of the "May Meetings." It is not generally known that the father of the author of "Robinson Crusoe" traded as a butcher in Fore-street, Cripplegate; that he was a member of the Butchers' Company, and that on behalf of his son Daniel he paid the Company's fine to exempt him from the duties then imposed upon members of the fraternity—upwards of 10*l*. Proof of this may be found among the archives of the Butchers' guild, where the entry is duly recorded.—*City Press*.

RITUALISM AT ST. ALBAN'S, HOLBORN.—Another petition has been presented to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council against the Rev. W. Mackonochie by the Church Association, praying their lordships to enforce the motion against the rev. gentleman in the case of "Martin v. Mackonochie," and it has been appointed to be heard on the 26th inst. On a former occasion the petition was that Mr. Mackonochie had not obeyed the motion as to the elevation of the consecrated elements, and as to prostration before them. He was directed to pay the costs, and warned as to the alleged prostration. The petition to their lordships is now on the ground that he permits by his curate such elevation and prostration, and it is submitted that the motion has not been obeyed. The question stands for hearing on the same day as the case of "Sheppard v. Bennett" from the Arches Court.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN AMERICA.—It will be remembered that last year the Rev. Mr. Cheney, an Episcopal clergyman in Illinois, was summoned by his Bishop before a clerical commission for omitting the assertion in the baptismal service that the child is regenerated in its baptism. Being satisfied that he could not hope for a fair trial on the Commission as constituted, he applied for an injunction to a civil court. The injunction was granted, but the Bishop appealed against it to the Supreme Court of Illinois. In the argument before this tribunal, recently, the Bishop boldly contended that by the episcopal system a bishop has necessarily authority to discipline his clergy. The Court has taken time to consider whether this high claim of Episcopal prerogative is allowed by the constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and whether its ministers are bound by their oaths of office to submit to it. The case has a curious interest for Episcopalians in England as well as in the United States.—*The English Independent*.

THE PRESBYTERIAN UNION QUESTION.—Dr. Candlish has given notice of a motion that the union of the unestablished Presbyterian bodies in Scotland should be effected on the basis of the common standards, leaving the dogma about the civil magistrate's relation to religion an open question. The adherents to the Establishment theory have hereupon organised a defence association. The first meeting of this body was held at Glasgow on the 3rd inst, when speeches were delivered by the Rev. Dr. Wood, of Dumfries, Rev. Dr. Begg, of Edinburgh, Rev. Dr. Gibson and Forbes, of Glasgow, and by a number of the rank and file. A letter was read from the Rev. Dr. Horatius Bonar of the most dolorous nature. According to him, "The signal gun had been fired," and the Presbyterians of the Free Church "had been summoned not to prayer, but to battle." The next three months are to be months of strife and final separation, and if he could see any clear way of leaving the Free Church he would quit it at once. Dr. Gibson draws a frightful future of voluntarism; and as for Mr. William Kidston, a wealthy Glasgow merchant, the only explanation that can suggest itself to him is that "the author of all evil, by means of the union question, has got the Free Church to weaken, neutralise, and destroy the work of the Disruption of 1843."

THE CHURCH-RATES (SCOTLAND) BILL.—Mr. McLaren's Bill for the Abolition of Church Assessments in Scotland was rejected on Wednesday by 225 to 108. The following composed the minority:—E. Antrobus, R. S. Aytoun, E. Backhouse, E. Baines, A. H. S. Barry, W. E. Baxter, Sir T. Bazley, S. A. Beaumont, Captain F. Beaumont, Right Hon. E. P. Bouverie, Jacob Bright, Captain Brinckman, A. Brogden, A. H. Brown, P. Callan, H. Campbell, J. Candlish, Hon. C. Carnegie, Captain Cholmeley, R. Dalglish, D. Dalrymple, M. P. D'Arcy, R. Davies, J. Delahunty, J. D. Dent, S. S. Dickinson, G. Dixon,

Sir C. W. Dilke, Hon. Col. W. Edwards, R. Eykyn, H. Fawcett, Lord E. Fitzmaurice, I. Fletcher, W. D. Fordyce, O. Forster, Right Hon. W. E. Forster, R. Fothergill, W. Fowler, C. Gilpin, E. T. Gourley, W. Graham, J. J. Grieve, G. Hadfield, J. G. C. Hamilton, J. D. Harris, Lord Henley, J. T. Hibbert, C. Wren-Hoskyns, J. Howard, T. Hughes, A. Illingworth, Hon. P. J. Locke King, Hon. A. F. Kinnaird, W. Lawrence, Sir W. Lawson, E. A. Leatham, J. D. Lewis, J. H. Lewis, J. Locke, Dr. Lush, A. Lusk, W. M'Arthur, T. M'Clure, P. M'Lagan, J. F. Maguire, S. S. Marling, P. W. Martin, G. Melly, J. Merry, E. Miall, J. Miller, S. Morley, A. J. Mundella, P. H. Muntz, M. O'Reilly-Dease, J. W. Pease, R. N. Phillips, J. Platt, S. Plimsoll, E. Potter, T. B. Potter, W. P. Price, W. Rathbone, H. Richard, E. M. Richards, Baron L. N. de Rothschild, J. D'A. Samuda, H. B. Samuelson, E. J. Sartoris, C. Seely (Lincoln), C. Seely (Nottingham), H. B. Sheridan, A. C. Sheriff, Sir J. G. T. Sinclair, E. Smith, Col. Stuart, Colonel W. H. Sykes, P. A. Taylor, Hon. F. J. Tollemache, G. O. Trevelyan, Right Hon. C. P. Villiers, H. H. Vivian, Sir D. Wedderburn, G. H. Whalley, J. Whitwell, W. Williams, H. S. P. Page, and A. W. Young. Tellers: Mr. M'Laren and Mr. Craufurd.

THE MARTYRS' MEMORIAL IN SMITHFIELD.—On Friday afternoon, between three and four o'clock, the Earl of Shaftesbury performed, in the presence of a large number of ladies and gentlemen, the ceremony of unveiling the Martyrs' Memorial in Smithfield. The memorial occupies one of the arched recesses in the external wall of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and consists principally of red and grey polished granite, the more ornamental part having been executed in bronze. The general character of the design is classic, in harmony with the style of the building. The head of the memorial is semi-circular in form, with a large bronze shell in the centre, set off with mouldings that may be described as delicate, considering the difficulty of working and polishing small mouldings in granite, and between them is the text—"Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord." The cornice also consists of mouldings, and bears the text—"The noble army of martyrs praise Thee." This is supported by pilasters, between which there is a panel with the following inscription:—"Within a few feet of this spot John Rogers, John Bradford, John Philpot, and other servants of God, suffered death by fire for the faith of Christ in the years 1555, 1556, and 1557." On the base is the further inscription: "Near this place is erected a church to the memory of the said martyrs." The memorial was designed by Messrs. Habershon and Pite, and executed by Messrs. Cox and Son, of Southampton-street. Amongst others present were Mr. A. Kinnaird, M.P., Mr. J. M'Gregor, Professor Donaldson, &c. The Earl of Shaftesbury, speaking from the steps of the hospital, gave a brief address concluding as follows—"Let us say now, All honour to those glorious fellows who died for our comfort, privileges, and liberty, and bury in oblivion all that has passed." The memorial was then unveiled amidst cheers, and the proceedings terminated. There was a cry of "No Popery," and three groans for Bishop Wilberforce, but no other manifestation of feeling.

Religious and Denominational News.

The Rev. J. P. Jones, of Llanvaches, Mon., has received and accepted a unanimous invitation to the pastorate of the English Congregational Church, New Town, Montgomeryshire.

Mr. George Critchley, B.A., of Western College, has received a unanimous invitation from the church at Falcon-square, Aldersgate-street, and proposes to commence his ministry on the first Lord's day in April.

The Rev. T. C. Page, late of Plymouth, has accepted a cordial invitation from the Baptist church at King's-road, Reading, to occupy the pulpit during the next twelve months, with a view to the future pastorate.

LEGACIES TO THE ENGLISH CONGREGATIONAL CHAPEL BUILDING SOCIETY.—The committee have just received information of a legacy of 1,000*l.* from the late D. Williams, Esq., of Bangor. The amount now received and promised in the form of legacy in aid of this society, exceeds 5,000*l.*; of this sum 1,300*l.* was given during the lifetime of the donors, on the condition of a certain percentage being paid till their death. By this arrangement, the legacy duty is saved, and the contributor sees the fruit of his benefaction.

POWELL-ROAD CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, HACKNEY.—The recognition services in connection with the settlement of the Rev. J. Gwynne Jones as pastor of this church took place on Tuesday, 8th March. The Rev. W. Marshall, of Cambridge-heath Congregational Church, presided. The Rev. J. Ellis, of the New Tabernacle, Old-street-road, read the Scriptures and prayed. The Rev. Dr. Thomas, of Stockwell, addressed the minister; the Rev. A. A. Ramsey, of Adelphi Chapel, Hackney-road, offered the recognition prayer; the Rev. L. D. Bevan, LL.B., of Tottenham-court-road Tabernacle, addressed the church; and the pastor concluded the services.

LIGHTCLIFFE.—The residents in the pleasant village of Lightcliffe, mid-way between Halifax and Bradford, are bestirring themselves with the view of erecting a new place of worship for the Congregationalists, in place of the Bramley-lane Chapel. A meeting, preceded by tea, was held in the Bramley-lane schoolroom on Thursday evening, presided over by the Rev. J. Thomson, who

stated what had been done in reference to a new chapel, and the necessity there was for enlarged accommodation in connection with the Sunday-school as well as for worship. Sir Titus Salt, Bart., moved the first resolution, approving of the project to build a new church and parsonage, and to alter the present chapel so as to adapt it for the purposes of a day and Sunday-school, young men's lecture and class-rooms, and other agencies connected with the church. Mr. George Portway seconded the motion, which was supported by Mr. J. Crossley and the Rev. Dr. Fraser, and carried unanimously. A committee of management was next appointed, on the motion of Mr. J. Hall, seconded by Mr. Willans, and supported by Mr. Alexander. Then followed a resolution appointing a finance committee, proposed by Mr. Dickinson, seconded by Mr. J. Sykes, and carried. It is proposed to expend between 5,000*l.* and 6,000*l.*, and promises had been received to about 4,000*l.* Of this amount Sir Titus Salt and family give 2,011*l.*, and Mr. John Crossley, of Halifax, 300*l.*

Correspondence.

THE EDUCATION BILL.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR,—On the 1st of January, 1863, I formally ceased to be a minister of the Established Church. I have found it impossible to join myself to any "denomination," and therefore, if that now famous word "unsectarian" can ever be applied to a person, I may be that person. The Union objects to a national system of education which prohibits religious teaching. I heartily sympathise with them. The League condemns Mr. Forster's mode of dealing with the "religious difficulty," for fear in towns and large populous villages it would revive the Church-rate contests in another form; whilst in the rural parishes it would throw the religious teaching entirely into the hands of the minister of the Establishment. On both these points I cordially agree with the League. The more the subject is ventilated, the more certain it must appear that unsectarian religious teaching is impossible. The special objection I have to the control of the clergy of the Establishment, is that they are not *themselves at liberty*. They are compelled by law to teach whatever they find in the Prayer-book. A rector of a large parish once said to me that there was so much good in the Prayer-book that it atoned for all the nonsense which had been left in it; the sad thing is he is obliged to teach the "nonsense," or give up 800*l.* a year, and go into the Union with his family. How would it work if well-constituted district boards elected the master, and he was at liberty to give religious instruction before or after school hours, according to his own conscientious convictions, the children not being permitted to repeat any doctrinal creed or catechism? I myself should have no fear of such instruction for my own children from any conscientious Christian teacher. If the Dissenters of the Birmingham League would be still afraid of the children of Dissenting parents being made into Churchmen, I think I can mitigate their alarms. They well know that the education of the agricultural districts has for many years been entirely in the hands of the Established Church. The Church Catechism has reigned supreme. In forty years I have never been able to find one intelligent agricultural labourer who believed the doctrines contained in it. I heard a Bishop of Lincoln lament in his charge the mortifying fact that after years of earnest Church teaching, the most intelligent children went over to Dissent. I am myself persuaded that the importance of denominational teaching is enormously over rated on both sides, and it would be a grievous thing to sacrifice Christian teaching in a fierce struggle of "sects."

I am, &c.,
CHRISTOPHER NEVILE.

A POSSIBLE SOLUTION.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—A multitude of minds have come to the conclusion that a national system of education cannot be denominational, and at the present moment are asking—"Can there be a religious education that is undenominational?" Allow me to suggest a possible answer to this question.

1. I would allow a distinction to be made between a secular school and an undenominational school, and I would give power to each particular school board to decide which of the two it shall adopt.

2. If a board decide that its school be undenominational, in that case the limits of the religious instruction it is permitted to give, shall be rigorously defined.

3. Catechisms, creeds, and formularies shall be excluded. But certain portions of Scripture, selected beforehand by the Committee of Council, and designed to inculcate the great moral duties of man, might be read in undenominational schools, the meaning of the words might be explained, and the practical lessons enforced. I would not even exclude other books which taught the same great truths; and surely if from the lips of a Shakespeare our children may learn how "mercy droppeth like the gentle dew from heaven," and is "twice blessed," so they may be taught the high moralities of a volume of which it is little to say, that probably ninety-nine out of every hundred Englishmen

regard it with more reverence than any other book in the world.

4. But supposing a school board to consent to this instruction being given, I would yet further protect any minority of parents, however small, from being coerced in so sacred a matter as religion. This could easily be arranged. Let all such instruction as that referred to, be given in school hours at the commencement of two mornings in the week, say from nine o'clock till half-past nine, and let any parent be permitted to withdraw his child during that half hour.

5. In addition to any half-holidays given for recreation, let school work be suspended one afternoon—say Monday—every week, in order that the churches of different denominations may have the opportunity of instructing the children in religious faith and practice. Those parents—and they would be very few—who did not desire that their children should receive any religious education whatever, need not send them to receive it.

Such a method as that I have ventured to suggest would secure a religious education for all who desire it—would do no injustice to any denomination—would coerce no conscience—would help to unite all churches and all classes—and would be, in my judgment, a just solution of a perplexing problem.

I am, Sir, yours very truly,

FREDERICK S. WILLIAMS.

Congregational Institute, Nottingham,
March 11, 1870.

THE CATHOLICS AND EDUCATION.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—I was surprised to observe at the foot of one of your summaries of news in your last the statement that "it is a remarkable fact that Roman Catholics are the difficulty in the way of education." I think such a statement is not only highly offensive but totally unfounded.

If you base the opinion upon the desire of some Catholics to have the denominational system extended to Ireland (of which I am not one), surely you cannot blame them for wishing to be put on a level with all denominations in England—where it exists and where you would appear to favour it. Would it not have been more correct to say that the Established Church is accountable for the blame you put upon us?

Sir, yours sincerely,

A CATHOLIC AND CONSTANT READER.

Manchester, March 14, 1870.

[We based our opinion on the knowledge that the Catholic Episcopate and priesthood of Ireland insist on a denominational system of education, and on the fact that the Catholics of England are in favour of the same system. Our correspondent is almost the only exception we know to this.—ED.]

SCOTTISH CHURCH QUESTIONS.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR,—Will you permit me to make a few general observations on the two discussions which have recently taken place in Parliament on Scottish ecclesiastical questions. The Bills which originated these discussions were introduced by the Senior Member for Edinburgh. I think every impartial reader of the debates must be struck with the extreme bitterness which pervaded the speeches of the new Lord Advocate, the representative of the Government, and also the speech, on the first Bill, of Mr. Geo. Anderson, the minority member for Glasgow, who followed it up with votes against both measures. It is not difficult to account for the temper displayed by the Lord Advocate. He is essentially a Parliament House Whig, and every one knows that, chiefly to the exertions of Mr. McLaren, and those associated with him, is due the decisive victory which Edinburgh Liberalism has achieved over Parliament House arrogance and dictation. It need not occasion surprise, therefore, that, with a sense of defeat ranking in their breasts, men like the Lord Advocate should feel it a kind of relief to indulge in a little vituperation of him who shattered their political power and influence in the Scottish metropolis. The cause of Mr. Geo. Anderson's bitterness it may be more difficult to discover. He was brought forward by a working men's committee as the Radical member for Glasgow. His committee, and the Liberal committees acting for Messrs. Dalglish and Graham, agreed to unite their efforts to carry the three, and to exclude Sir Geo. Campbell, the Church and Tory candidate. Under the advice of the United Committees, hundreds who knew nothing of, and had not so much as heard his name before, voted for Mr. Anderson. If they had known his politics then as well as they do now, I venture to say that not one of them would have given him a vote. He has become the Corymbus of the Church party. He is patted on the back by the Church clergy. He is lauded to the skies by the two leading Glasgow newspapers in Scotland—the *Scotsman* and the *Glasgow Herald*. The former of these was once the champion of Nonconformity, but has sadly changed in its ecclesiastical tone since the time of Charles MacLaren, and has always been eager to get a fling at Mr. Duncan McLaren from the day when a jury found it guilty of evil-speaking against him, and amerced it in heavy damages. The Senior M.P. of Edinburgh is the *Scotsman's* *bête noir*. The *Herald*, in its own feeble way, but with not less virulence, seeks to run down all

who presume to touch the question of Church exactions, and to magnify the virtues of those who, like Mr. Anderson, take the Church, with all the grievances it inflicts on those who are not of it, under their sheltering wing. Let us hope that the shape and temper of the Parliamentary discussions referred to will give energy to the demand for a Secretary of State for Scotland, so that the great questions which affect that part of the kingdom may be lifted out of the narrowness and arrogance of Parliament House Whiggism, and dealt with in a comprehensive and statesmanlike manner; and also for the repeal of the Minority Clause in the Reform Bill, so that minority members may be sent about their business.

And what are the Nonconformists of Scotland now to do? The Nonconformists of Ireland were restive and turbulent, and Mr. Gladstone's Government rewards them by abolishing the prelate Establishment and taking away the *Regium Donum* from the Presbyterians. The Nonconformists of Scotland, with somewhat kindred grievances, are peaceable and law-abiding, and Mr. Gladstone's Government punishes them by haughtily refusing to relieve them of a single ecclesiastical burden, and through its Lord Advocate encourages the Established clergy to exact their *pound of flesh* and to resist the slightest abatement in their imperious demands. That this treatment at the hands of a Government in which they had such entire confidence, and around which they so nobly rallied at last election, has deeply grieved and wounded Scottish Nonconformists, Mr. Gladstone, and those to whose counsels he has unfortunately listened, will by-and-by discover. But the question returns, what are the Scottish Nonconformists to do? Is it not high time that they should raise THE BROAD ISSUES OF SCOTTISH DISESTABLISHMENT AND DISENDOWMENT? Like the Irish Church, the Scottish National Church is the church of the minority, and like the Irish Church it has many parishes, especially in the Highlands, where there is not the shadow of a congregation. It may not be advisable to force the question on during this year or even during the next. Let Mr. McLaren reintroduce his Scottish Church-rate Bill next session, and thus keep the subject alive. Meanwhile, let measures be adopted for ascertaining accurately the statistics of attendance in the parish churches all over the Highlands, and also in the parish churches proper in the Lowlands. Let the number of voluntary churches in connection with the Establishment, under the names of Chapels of Ease, Quoad Sacra Churches, &c., be ascertained—churches raised and supported by the members of the Establishment, and for which they deserve all praise; but churches which, when disestablishment and disendowment come, must not be brought in as entitled to compensation or commutation, but must be regarded simply as voluntary churches, having neither part nor lot in the tithe-supported Establishment. When reliable information on points like these is obtained, the Scottish Nonconformists will be in a better position effectively to bring their case before the country and before Parliament; and unless the principles which have guided the Government and Parliament in dealing with the Irish Church are to be cast aside and trampled upon, I think a clear and conclusive argument will be forthcoming for extending to Scotland the same measure of ecclesiastical justice which has been extended to Ireland.

I am, Sir, yours respectfully,
AN ONLOOKER.

March 12, 1870.

THE ULSTER TENANT-RIGHT.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—Permit me to say that I think you have fallen into an error in stating, in your impression of the 9th inst. (the Irish Land Bill—leading article) that "the bill proposes to legalise and enforce that kind of 'fixity of tenure,' which is now the custom in many parts of Ulster." There is, I conceive, a double misapprehension in this statement. First, the bill does not so interpret the customary tenant-right of Ulster, but distinctly describes it as "a usage prevalent in the province of Ulster with reference to the compensation to be made, or allowed to, or on account of an outgoing tenant of a holding." Secondly, I believe that this is the correct version of the subsisting custom which, though not directly sanctioning "fixity of tenure," either absolute or qualified, does, in fact, guarantee (so far as it is respected) the practical continuity of possession and freedom from arbitrary action or unjust rise of rent. I therefore cannot concur in the criticism of those who see in the legalisation of the Ulster custom an inequality of legislation. The bill proposes to secure the same practical immunity to the tenants in districts where the Ulster custom or analogous usages do not prevail, by putting a penalty on eviction, and giving the tenant the value of his improvements. Thus the principle of the bill is really one, though the means chosen differ, and, I think, rightly differ with the varying circumstances of the different provinces. I am far from saying that the details of the bill require no improvement, and hope they may be improved in committee, whilst I should regret to see the main features of the measure as introduced altered, either by omitting the legalisation of customs, or by defining them so as to give too much or too little to either party.

I am, Sir, yours truly,

HENRY DIX HUTTON.

Dublin, March 12, 1870.

SPAIN AND THE BURIAL OF THE DEAD.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—Having already communicated my views to the Secretary of the Liberation Society on the Burials Bill, I will not attempt to trouble you with them, and only ask space for a word or two, as to how these things are now managed in Spain.

It is well known that owing to the existence in its most perfect form of the connection of Church and State in Spain, the interment of the dead, so far as Protestants were concerned, was until recently often attended with very grievous difficulties.

Now, however, these difficulties have disappeared, and all interments may be conducted in accordance with the views of the parties interested.

Protestants are neither obliged to pay fees, nor to make application of any kind to Roman Catholic priests.

There is still much to be deplored in Spain, but without the important aid which a Liberation Society in any country may render, the people have obtained the freedom of the burial-grounds, and in this have shown themselves worthy of that freedom which cannot exist in any country where ecclesiastical monopoly is allowed to exist.

Very respectfully yours,

JOSEPH COOPER.

Essex Hall, Walthamstow, March 11, 1870.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

THE LAW OF NATURALISATION.

On Thursday Lord CARNARVON, on the motion for going into Committee on the Naturalisation Bill, dwelt upon the importance of the changes proposed to be made, and suggested some points for consideration. There ought, for example, to be some limit to repatriation, so that a man might be prevented from capriciously changing his nationality.

On Clause 2, Lord WESTBURY moved a proviso which, as eventually amended, enables the Queen in Council to suspend the operation of the Act as to the enjoyment of property by alien subjects of any State at war with Her Majesty during the continuance of such hostilities.

The LORD CHANCELLOR pointed out that the proviso would be likely to bring us into conflict with other countries. The proper time for discussing the question whether an alien ought to be recognised as the owner of British shipping would be when the Merchant Shipping Bill came up from the other House. The amendment was not pressed.

On Clause 5, Lord WESTBURY said that in most other countries the nationality of a child depended on that of its parents, while the child of alien parents, if born in this country, was a British subject, and complained that the bill continued this anomaly. The LORD CHANCELLOR replied that the bill adopted the principle that a man who voluntarily became naturalised in another country ceased to be a British subject. The bill was confined to artificial naturalisation as distinguished from nationality, which could only be dealt with by treaty with foreign Governments.

After a brief discussion, in which Lords Penzance, Derby, and Houghton took part, the bill passed through Committee.

Their Lordships adjourned at five minutes past seven o'clock.

On Friday the LORD CHANCELLOR laid upon the table the High Court of Justice Bill and the Appellate Jurisdiction Bill, reserving his explanation of their provisions until the second reading. Both bills were read a first time.

On Monday Lord DUFFERIN made a personal explanation in correction of a statement made by Sir J. Gray in the other House relative to the management of his Irish property.

Lord GRANVILLE, after stating that the Government had determined to come to Parliament for further powers to enable them to deal with Irish disturbance, gave a brief outline of the bill to be brought into the House on Thursday, in similar terms to those used by the Prime Minister in the other House.

The Duke of RICHMOND expressed his satisfaction that the Government were at last roused to a sense of their responsibility, and his disappointment at the very meagre statement of Lord Granville. Ireland was in a state without parallel in her history, and he doubted whether the measure just shadowed forth would at all meet the exigency of the case.

Lord GRANVILLE, in answer to Lord Clanricarde, consented to the production of the papers for which he had announced his intention last week to move.

Lord SALISBURY disapproved of the attempt made by the Government to stifle the discussion which had been expected. In large and important districts of Ireland the population were on the side of crime, and to none of the most serious evils that existed did the bill appear to apply the slightest remedy. So far as could be gathered from Lord Granville's description, the Government measure did not in any degree meet the emergency.

In answer to Lord Carnarvon, Lord CLANRICARDE said that as the Government were ready to give him the papers he wanted, and were further of opinion that the discussion he had intended to open might be injurious to the public interests, he felt unwilling to take upon himself the responsibility of going on with his motion.

The East India Laws and Regulation Bill was read a second time, and Their Lordships adjourned at twenty minutes to six.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

CHURCH-RATES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

At the day sitting on Wednesday, Mr. M'LAREN, in moving the second reading of this bill, said that the Church assessments in Scotland were open even to greater objections than the Church-rates which had been abolished in England and Ireland, because in Scotland the rates were levied for repairing and building manse. It was true that in Scotland the assessment was upon the owner, but it was not a burden upon land, because if a person died without paying the assessment, it would become a charge against his personal property, and no liability would attach to his successor. He did not propose to abolish the rate, but only to copy the English act of last session by preventing any legal process for the recovery of the money. In 1612, when Episcopacy was the law of Scotland, the burden was laid, not upon the land, but upon the clergy; but in 1664 it was transferred to the heritors, and a further Act was passed in 1649 requiring them to provide competent manse, at a cost which was not to exceed 83*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Every Act passed during the Commonwealth was repealed upon the Restoration, but in 1663 an Act was passed in terms nearly similar to the Act of 1649. The present law, be it good or bad, was not the law of Parliament. It was the law of the courts. The grievance extended over the whole kingdom. It extended to the Shetland Isles, and was felt there even more intensely than anywhere else. In a parish in Shetland a new manse was ordered at a cost of 12*s.* 6*d.* on the whole assessment of the parish. A Free Church minister wrote to him that his house was assessed at 12*l.* 5*s.* a year, and that he had to pay 9*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.* as his share of the expense of the house of his brother minister. In another parish the cost of a new manse absorbed a whole year's rental of a parish. In the Orkneys the same state of things prevailed. In the south of Scotland the same state of things prevailed. On these grounds he trusted the House would agree to the second reading of this bill.

Mr. GORDON moved that the bill be read a second time that day six months. There was a very material distinction between what was called the church assessment and the Church-rates as they existed in England prior to 1868. In England, prior to 1868, a Church-rate could not be imposed except with the consent of a majority of the occupiers. By the change in England made by the Act of 1868, the rate was voluntary in its character, but in Scotland the burden was of a totally different character. In Scotland the assessment was made for the construction and repair of ecclesiastical buildings; that was to say for the parish church and the minister's manse, and the burden was imposed, not as in England, on the occupiers, but upon the owners of land, or as they were called in Scotland, the heritors who held their land subject to this burden. Further, the church assessment in Scotland was not dependent, and never had been dependent, on the majority of the parishioners. It was a legal burden that was imposed irrespective of their consent, and when circumstances required it the courts were empowered to impose it. In the borough the Church was supported out of the common goods, but the churches were let to hire, and in that way there was an annual revenue out of which they paid for the repairs. Then in Scotland all the expenses of conducting Divine worship were paid by the voluntary contributions of the parties attending the church. This bill relieved the heritors from the burden subject to which they held their lands. He believed that, as a body, they would not call for this relief, and on these grounds he trusted that the House would reject the measure.

Mr. CARNegie said that he had failed to hear any sound argument why compulsory Church-rates should be levied in Scotland after they had been abolished in England. There was no question whatever that the clergy of Scotland, like all others, had become more and more exacting. There had been an immense deal of heartburning on the subject, and the Established clergy had lost a great deal of influence. The hon. and learned gentleman had made a proposal to exempt the clergy from the rate, but if it was a charge upon property, he could not understand why there should be any such exemption. Lord J. MANNERS opposed the bill on the ground that no real grievance existed, or that if it did the Dissenting portion of the population—namely the Episcopalians, of which he was one, did not wish to disturb the existing state of things. Mr. GRAHAM, as a Scotch Dissenter, approved of the bill. Sir E. COLEBROOKE was of opinion that a remedy for the grievance could be found without resorting to the extreme measure now proposed. Mr. CANDLISH supported the second reading on the ground that if there was a real grievance it was the duty of Parliament to redress it. Mr. MAXWELL opposed the bill, being of opinion that Episcopalians and other Dissenters did not consider Church-rates a grievance.

Mr. MILLER said that in supporting this bill he had no wish to injure the Established Church, on the contrary, he wished to see it go on and prosper. The grievance of Church-rates was, however, very severe, and a remedy was indispensable. It was nothing to say that landlords of Scotland did not object to pay the tax: they might continue to pay it if the bill passed, while on the other hand there were thousands of small proprietors who wished to be re-

lieved. Even where the tax was very small it was irritating.

Sir R. ANSTRUTHER believed the name of this bill had served to deceive a large number of persons as to its real object. There was no earthly analogy between the present case and that of Church-rates, and the bill, instead of being a Liberal, was actually a reactionary and Conservative one. (Laughter.) Instead of proposing to apply the money for useful national purposes, it was coolly proposed to put it into the pockets of the landowners. In the case of the Parochial Schools Bill last year, the hon. member for Edinburgh denounced an attempt to transfer about 50,000*l.* a year to the heritors, and how, then, could he consistently advocate this measure? He did not deny that there was a grievance in the case of the farmers, and that it fell upon them with extreme severity; and if the measure had been confined to their case, he would have voted for it.

Mr. CRAWFORD must inform the House that his hon. friend who had just spoken was a member of the Established Church and a distinguished elder. Hence he had a strong motive for resisting the passing of this bill. The question for the House was whether the impost was a proper one, and in his opinion the principle involved was exactly the same as that which was involved in English Church-rates. His hon. friend was an earnest supporter of the Irish Church Bill, because it did not touch himself. (Laughter.) He (Mr. Crawford) denied that this burden was simply one upon land; but even if it were, Parliament had a right to remove it. The special hardship of this Scotch impost as compared with English Church-rates was the maintenance of the manse. He knew a case in which a minister of the Free Church was, before the Disruption, the minister of the parish in which he still resided. Up to that period the manse was considered quite sufficient, but since then it had been enlarged at a great expense to the ratepayers.

The LORD ADVOCATE said that if the bill now before the House were passed into an Act, it would disendow the Established Church to a considerable extent. In considering this subject, attention must be paid to the provision which existed for its maintenance. The clergy were not merely provided with stipends. The money provided in that form would be altogether sufficient without a house and a glebe; this bill would deprive him of both, and the effect would be to transfer the provision made for the clergy of the Establishment to other persons. The tax was one upon land, resting on statute law, and in many cases it was only the great landowners who paid it. As to the argument that if a man died owing money on account of the church assessment the amount must be paid out of personalty, the same thing was true of all other debts under similar circumstances, both in Scotland and in England. The burden in question was precisely in the same position as every other burden upon land, which a purchaser took into account in considering what he would give for a property. He did not dispute the competency of Parliament to deal with this question, but he doubted the propriety of interposing a measure like the present, when they were not considering the question of the disendowment of the Established Church of Scotland. (Hear, hear.) In whose interest was it proposed to get rid of the burden? He asserted that in the vast majority of cases in regard to all the parishes in Scotland, with few exceptions, the burden was imposed only upon the larger landowners, who did not complain of it as a grievance. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. M'LAREN having briefly replied,

The House divided:

For the second reading . . . 108

Against it . . . 225—117

The bill was consequently rejected.

The second reading of Mr. Hardcastle's Bill for the repeal of the minority clauses of the Reform Act was, owing to the lateness of the hour, postponed till Wednesday, the 1st June. After disposing of the other orders, the House adjourned a little before six o'clock.

On Thursday Mr. B. Osborne took his seat for Waterford, and was received with very hearty cheering on both sides.

Mr. DIXON gave notice of an amendment on the second reading of the Education Bill, which we have quoted elsewhere.

In reply to inquiries, of which public notice had been given, Mr. C. FORTESCUE promised to refer the question of union rating in Ireland to a Select Committee. Mr. GLADSTONE declined to open Battersea Bridge free of toll on Saturday afternoons; Mr. BRUCE intimated that, as far as the Government is concerned, legislation upon the subject of the game-laws during the present session will be confined to Scotland; Sir J. C. LAWRENCE explained the action of the joint committee for abolishing the tolls on the bridges over the Thames; Mr. LOWE intimated his intention to move the Mint more into the centre of London, and to dispose of the "eligible site" of the present buildings for a suitable consideration; and Mr. BRUCE informed Mr. READ that no writ will be moved for the city of Norwich until a measure (which will be introduced soon after Easter) shall have been passed to purge the electoral roll of all those persons who have been reported by the Commissioners as having been guilty of corrupt practices.

Mr. GLADSTONE stated that the promised measures with reference to transfer of land and the succession to estates in case of intestacy will be introduced in one or other House of Parliament the succeeding week; and Mr. CRAWFORD promised, with the audibly expressed approval of the House, to call attention on an early day to the "very imperfect

condition of our internal telegraphic communication."

THE IRISH LAND BILL.

In resuming the debate upon the Irish Land Bill, Colonel WILSON PATTEN was not able to express unqualified approval of the provisions of the Government measure; but he professed his readiness, and indeed his determination, to lay aside "many private and even political opinions" in order to assist in the settlement of this question.

Mr. HORSMAN expressed his surprise at the manner both sides of the House had received a bill which he characterised less as an amendment of a law than the foundation of a system. Replying to Mr. Henley's suggestion that the title of the bill ought to be changed to one describing it as a measure for "promoting litigation," he said that if it were to be rechristened at all, it ought to be called, "A Bill for the protection and comfort of landlords, and for the improvement and elevation of the tenants," and dwelt with emphasis upon the advantages which it would confer upon landowners by ensuring their security, and the security and happiness of their families. Mr. Horsman's closing observations were devoted to a consideration of the duty which devolved upon the Government in face of the present unsatisfactory state of affairs in Ireland. While approving their conduct in abstaining from any exceptional measures, such as the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, until this bill was introduced, he declared that as soon as it was read a second time a new situation would arise, and it would be the duty of Ministers to see that the bill and its friends, and those for whose advantage it was brought forward, had fair play in Ireland. "The Government," said he, "have shown that they can be just; they must now show that they can be firm and resolute"; and he elicited a loud cheer by the declaration that the real criminal is not the poor miscreant who discharges the gun, but the man in a higher rank of life who spreads the false ideas and false doctrines which fire his blood. Against such it was the duty of the Government to strike not in cruelty but in mercy, and there was not a man throughout the civilised world who would not approve the blow.

Mr. ALBERT PELL, who, as a farmers' representative, regarded the bill from a purely agricultural point of view, saw in it so much promise of benefit to Irish agriculture, and of simple justice to tenants in the matter of improvements, that although it might require some amendment in committee, he could cordially support the second reading.

Sir R. PALMER spoke briefly but emphatically in support of the bill. He regarded it as an exceptional measure, rendered necessary by the exceptional circumstances of Ireland; but as it did not interfere with the rights or disturb the foundations of property, he did not regard its exceptional character as a fatal objection. At the same time he impressed upon the Government, in language even more forcible than that employed by Mr. Horsman, the duty which would devolve upon them, having by this measure provided a remedy for the most pressing grievances of the people of Ireland, to enforce the authority of the law in that country. If he did not believe that they would faithfully perform that duty, he could not support this bill.

Two young Irish noblemen, Viscount BURKE and Viscount ST. LAWRENCE, promised to give their assistance to pass the measure into law; and Mr. CONOLLY expressed the pleasure with which he should for the first time go into the lobby with the present Government in support of the second reading.

Since the speech of Colonel White, its seconder, not a word had hitherto been said in favour of the amendment; but at last Sir JOHN GRAY rose to support it. The ground upon which the member for Kilkenny rested his opposition to the bill was that it would fail to satisfy the people of Ireland, "who," said he, "will continue to ask until they get"; and, being interrupted by a burst of merriment, added, "they shall continue to ask until they get the abolition of notices to quit, and of evictions, except for non-payment of rent, subletting, or wasting the land." The measure, he complained, did not contain a word about even security of tenure, much less about fixity; and he at great length analysed the provisions of the bill, to show that they would not meet the wishes of the Irish people or the necessities of the case; and quoted largely from the speeches of Irish members (including the Solicitor-General for Ireland), who were now supporting the bill, to show that they had previously demanded a much larger measure. Hardly a cheer saluted his most fiery passages, and he sat down amidst a dead silence. A far more cordial reception was given to the reply of Mr. MONSELL, who briefly pointed out that although the words "security of tenure" did not appear in the bill, the thing itself was amply provided for, and rebuked Sir John Gray for having done his best to prevent this measure operating as a message of peace to Ireland.

Mr. HARDY closed the discussion for the night. His speech was directed almost entirely to the details of the measure. He admitted that there was a feeling of insecurity among the tenants of land in Ireland which it was necessary should be removed by the interposition of Parliament, and therefore he promised to vote for the second reading of the bill; but he found fault with the operation of nearly all its provisions, and it was difficult, if not impossible, to discover a single one of which he entirely approved. He was especially severe upon the proposal to advance public money to enable tenants to purchase their holdings; and spent some minutes in refuting

and condemning the ultra-Irish theories of Sir John Gray. He occasioned some amusement by quoting opinions adverse to the principles of this bill expressed by Mr. Lowe two years ago; and concluded with an earnest appeal to the Government to treat the people of Ireland like men and not like children, and to enable them in future to contract freely with each other as to the letting and holding of land.

The debate was, upon the motion of Mr. W. H. Gregory, again adjourned.

On Friday, Mr. C. READ failed to induce Mr. Gladstone to promise any legislation upon the subject of the terms of residence of privileged students at the Universities; and Mr. LARVAN was equally unwilling to commit the Government to any action with reference to the adulteration of tea. Mr. OTWAY informed Lord Milton that the question of the water boundary between the British possessions in North America and the United States has been referred to arbitration. Two inquiries were addressed to the Prime Minister with reference to a statement attributed to Lord Romilly, that in a case which came before him as Master of the Rolls sixteen years ago, it was alleged that 10,000*l.* had been paid as secret service money to members of Parliament; but Mr. GLADSTONE was able to say that at the same time that the noble and learned lord made this statement, he informed the House of Lords that he did not believe that the money had been applied to the purpose indicated. He did not think it necessary that the Government should take any action in the matter.

THE IRISH LAND BILL.

The adjourned debate was resumed by Mr. W. H. GREGORY, who, while promising to vote for the second reading, deplored the circumstance that the measure did not contain any broad proposal that would apply to all Ireland. At the close of his speech the member for Galway referred to his recent travels in the East, and compared the skeletons which bestrew the path of the traveller in the desert to the skeletons of Irish Land Bills with which he imagined the floor of the House to be covered.

When Lord ELCHO rose, he reverted to this subject; and after describing Mr. Horsman's speech as a "baptismal cry," which indicated that his regeneration had been effected by "complete immersion," said that he had heard that while Mr. Gregory was in the Holy Land he had visited the "temporary residence of the post-king of Israel"—an euphemism for the Cave of Adullam; and had there on his knees "renounced independence and all its works." Although the noble lord declared his intention to support the second reading of the bill, he denounced it as involving principles so "novel, sweeping, and revolutionary," that he was bound to enter his protest against them.

Sir COLMAN O'LOUGHLIN, speaking for the first time since he joined the Government, defended the bill against the criticisms of the noble member for Haddingtonshire. Mr. CHAPLIN condemned the bill, both as a measure to provide security of tenure, and as part of the policy to be pursued towards Ireland; but he came to the conclusion to support the second reading, in order to avoid increasing the excitement and inflaming the passions of the Irish people, and aggravating the danger of bloodshed and insurrection which had been created by the evil policy of the present Administration. Mr. COGAN, referring to the fact that two out of the three gentlemen who had supported the amendment represented constituencies in the same county, described the opposition to the bill as a new "Confederation of Kilkenny" against the members for England, Ireland, and Scotland; and Mr. DOWNING promised to accept the bill as a settlement of the question, provided the Government would introduce certain amendments which he sketched to the House.

Mr. DISRAELI was evidently suffering from the weakness occasioned by indisposition, but in spite of this his manner wanted little of his accustomed animation; and at the commencement of his speech he excited a good deal of merriment at the expense of Mr. Horsman, whom both sides of the House knew to be "a very superior person," but who, while he was Irish Secretary, never introduced a single bill which bore upon the interests of Ireland; and of Sir C. O'LOUGHLIN, to whom he attributed that, having been for the first time placed in a position to which he was not accustomed, he had that night spoken so indiscreetly as to alarm several Conservative members, who intended to vote for the second reading, and cause them to leave the House. The right hon. gentleman admitted that the circumstances of Ireland called upon the Government to ask Parliament to give its attention to this subject, and to come to some decision upon it; but he disapproved of many of the provisions of the bill, especially of that which, by giving compensation for disturbance of occupation, and thus by making the tenant a co-parceller with the landlord, would destroy all moral relations between them; and of the proposal to advance money to enable tenants to purchase the freehold of their holdings, the tendency of which would be to make the same man an inefficient tenant and a poor proprietor. Contesting the claim to the merit of simplicity which Mr. Fortescue had put forward on behalf of the bill, Mr. Disraeli declared that none more complicated, more clumsy, or more heterogeneous had ever been submitted to Parliament, and recommended the Government to abandon all attempts to deal with customs, and to leave the tribunal they proposed to constitute to deal with each case upon its equitable merits. An amusing description of the incidents attending an Irish assize was followed by an eloquent reference to the present state of Ireland, and this led naturally to the peroration,

in which the right hon. gentleman besought hon. members not to vote upon this bill under the influence of panic, as if they had received threatening letters, or expected to meet "Rory of the Hills" in the lobby, lest in after times the Irish people should complain that they had been treated as men who neither comprehended justice nor deserved freedom.

Mr. GLADSTONE commenced by thanking the House for the fair and moderate tone in which the bill had been criticised, and congratulating himself on the general success with which it had passed through the ordeal. At the same time he admitted that on many points an impression had been made on the mind of the Government. In consequence of the debate, the clauses relating to the cottage allotments for labourers, to leasing powers, to the payment of county cess, to the combination of damages for eviction and improvements, would require reconsideration. Something might be done to modify the law of distress, the wording of the Ulster clause might need amendment, and some addition to the loan clauses must be made to mark their experimental character. Mr. Gladstone glanced rapidly at the various objections raised against the bill, and went over again the arguments in favour of its chief provisions. The Ulster custom it was impossible to define, for it consisted of an infinite variety of modifications of the one right of disposing of an occupation; nor was there any real injustice in not extending it to the rest of the country, since the bill for the other provinces provided a protection analogous to the Ulster right. The object of legalising the custom was not theoretical, but to give a genuine protection to those tenants who were supposed to have invested over 20,000,000*l.* in the purchase of their tenant-right. To those who deprecated the custom he replied that, bad or good, it had given satisfaction to the tenant, and peace and prosperity to the province. Clause 3 he defended at length, asserting that its object was to obtain stability of tenure, and he called attention to the fact that in the four nights' debate not a word had been said in favour of "perpetuity of tenure." That formula, happily, had lately gone out of fashion; but out of doors two new demands were made—the establishment of a tribunal for the "reduction of excessive rents" and "valuation of rents." With these two theories Mr. Gladstone grappled in a long and elaborate argument. He concluded with the following appeal to the mover and supporter of the amendment:—

The career of Ireland has ever been onward. Her career has ever been *Excelsior*! but because she has had justice for her cause, and has been sustained in it by that which is the highest earthly organ of justice, the favouring opinion of the civilised and Christian world. (Cheers.) We, Sir, have accepted the challenge. We seek in friendly contest to deprive Ireland of that alliance. There is but one way in which it can be done, and that is by offering her justice. Will you take it upon you to ask for more? Victors you have been in many battles, but what will be the issue of the strife when already—as we know from the utterances of high and low in other lands—the world has begun to recognise the efforts this great country is making for peace and concord—(cheers)—what will be the issue of that strife—what will be the weight of responsibility, if, intoxicated by success, and believing that that which has been must ever be, you venture to make, on the part of Ireland, or on the part of a portion of the people of Ireland, demands that justice cannot sanction or concede? (Cheers.) Sir, we have been invoked to-night in solemn terms from both sides of the House—by my right hon. friend the member for Kildare, and by my noble friend the member for Haddington—to be just and fear not. It is our desire to be just, but to be just we must be just to all. (Cheers.) The oppression of a majority is detestable and odious—(cheers)—the oppression of a minority is only by one degree less detestable and less odious. The face of justice is like the face of the god Janus. It is like the face of those lions the work of Landseer, which keep watch and ward around the record of our country's greatness. She presents one tranquil and majestic countenance towards every point of the compass and every quarter of the globe. That rare, that noble, that imperial virtue has this above all other qualities, that she is no respecter of persons, and she will not take advantage of a favourable moment to oppress the wealthy for the sake of flattering the poor any more than she will condescend to oppress the poor for the sake of pampering the luxuries of the rich. (Cheers.) I beseech my hon. friends to pause before they call on the House to do an act which will break up the concord and unanimity of the House. We have been met, and handsomely met, from the other side of the House—(cheers)—we have been met, and gallantly met, by many of those who have been foremost in fighting the battles of the people of Ireland; hesitate, then, I beseech you, before you run the risk of lighting a flame which you will in vain endeavour to extinguish, lest, unhappily, your country, after surmounting every difficulty, and after conquering every enemy, should at length miss the prize of peace, happiness, and contentment through the agency of those she believed to be her friends. (Loud cheers.)

Sir P. O'BRIEN made an attempt in an impatient House to explain the vote he was about to give in favour of the amendment, and at one o'clock the division was taken. It lasted about half-an-hour, and the preponderance of "Ayes" being so enormous that the division lobby would not hold them, the doors were opened to allow the overflow to pass into the outer lobby. The numbers were—

For the second reading . . . 442
Against it . . . 11—431

The Committee was fixed for Monday week, and the other business having been disposed of, the House adjourned at half-past one.

On Monday, Mr. P. A. TAYLOR gave notice that on the second reading of the Sunday Trading Bill he

should move that it be read a second time that day six months.

Mr. D. NICOL inquired whether it was intended to appoint a Select Committee to inquire into the incidence of taxation in Scotland for the building and repairing of manse and churches, and for providing and enlarging glebes. The LORD ADVOCATE said he hoped he should be able to procure satisfactory information on the subject without the appointment of a Select Committee.

In reply to a question from Mr. Disraeli, Mr. GLADSTONE undertook that the amendments which the Government intend to propose on the Irish Land Bill shall be laid upon the table as early as possible.

Mr. HODGSON asked if any of the Admiralty livings belonging to Greenwich Hospital had been sold. Mr. CHILDERS said a certain number of the livings had been sold, and one moiety of the proceeds applied to increase the value of the livings, and the other to form a fund to add to the pensions of retired naval chaplains. As soon as they had finished with the Greenwich Hospital Act, 1869, he should take up the subject, with the view of selling the livings.

THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT AND THE MISSIONARIES.

Colonel SYKES put a series of questions as to an outrage upon English missionaries in Nzan King, and as to whether the Mandarin of Oulan had proclaimed a reward of 200 dollars for the head of Mr. Pickering, a British merchant travelling under the protection of a Chinese pass, after confiscating his property; and as to whether Mr. Field, a British merchant, had been put into irons after being robbed of 1,000 piculs of camphor, he also travelling under the protection of a Chinese pass.

Mr. OTWAY said it appeared that two missionaries had established themselves in the city of Nzan King, and they were warned by the Governor of the province, there being no treaty rights there. They, however, remained up to September, and they were then warned by the Governor that as there was a competitive examination coming off, and many students about to assemble, it would be dangerous to continue their residence there. They disregarded that advice, and having received news that the mission-house was threatened, they proceeded to the palace, where they met a large body of students coming from their examination. The students went to the mission-house, and pulled it down. The missionaries obtained shelter in the palace, and the Governor sent them away under an escort of troops, and gave them 100 dollars. Sir Rutherford Alcock had an interview with the Governor, and he promised, on having a list of the expenses the missionaries had been put to, he would refund it, and also punish the ringleaders, and therefore that there was no occasion for Sir Rutherford Alcock to make any application to the Viceroy. Nevertheless he had represented the matter to the Viceroy, who pointed out that the missionaries, by residing in that place, had rendered themselves liable to treatment which it was difficult to prevent. With regard to the other matters referred to by his hon. friend, they had no information of that kind at the Foreign Office.

REPRESSION OF CRIME IN IRELAND.

Mr. GLADSTONE gave an outline of the proposals of the Government on this subject, which would be contained in a bill to be brought in by the Chief Secretary to-morrow (Thursday) evening. The bill will consist, in point of terms, of an enactment amending the Peace Preservation Act of 1856, reviving certain of the provisions which were contained in prior Acts, especially the Act of 1847, and the Act passed by the Government of Lord Grey in 1833. It will not, however, be proposed to place in the hands of the Executive Government any general power of suspending personal liberty, neither will it revive those provisions of the Act of 1833 which related to the trial of offences by courts-martial; but it will provide means for summary trial without jury, applicable to the offences which will be created under the bill. The principal heads to which the provisions will be directed will be the possession of arms and gunpowder, a control over persons moving about by night, compensation to individuals who have been the object of outrage, in certain cases to their relatives. It will also increase the powers at present afforded by law for the purpose of obtaining evidence. The enactment will be proposed to exist only for a limited time, and will take effect in those parts of Ireland which are proclaimed by the Lord Lieutenant for the purposes of this Act. But over and above these provisions—which will be confined in their operation to the proclaimed districts—there will be a provision relating to offences committed against public order by the Press—(Hear, hear)—such as will give more effective power to the Government on its responsibility for the suppression of those offences.

Mr. CARDWELL briefly stated that in consequence of the agitation which has arisen about over regulation prices he intends to withdraw his proposal to abolish the ranks of cornet and ensign; and to refer the whole question of these prices to a Royal Commission.

THE CASE OF CAPTAIN COOTE.

Viscount CRICHTON brought before the House the case of Captain Coote. This gentleman, a Protestant, was dismissed from the shrievalty of the county of Monaghan, because he refused to dismiss his sub-sheriff, who had been guilty of improperly constructing a jury panel, and in appointing his successor the Lord-Lieutenant passed over the names of two gentlemen returned by the judges, both Protestants, and appointed Mr. Langdale, a Roman Catholic, who was not resident in the county, and only held property in it in right of his wife. This course Lord Crichton and Colonel Leslie asked the House to condemn, as "unconstitutional, and calculated to impede the due performance of public duty." Mr. C. FORSTER

defended the right of the Lord-Lieutenant to select for the office a person not recommended by the judges, and explained the circumstances under which it had been thought right to appoint Mr. Langdale to the shrievalty; but Mr. HARDY pressed very forcibly against him the objection that before taking so strong a measure as the dismissal of a sheriff, he ought to have ascertained from the learned judge before whom the question was tried whether or not he was satisfied with the verdict which condemned the sub-sheriff. Mr. G. H. MOORE declared that the sub-sheriff in question acted no worse than was the practice of Crown prosecutors in all political cases, and Mr. BENTINCK expressed his opinion that the conduct of the Government in this matter was of a piece with the injustice of their whole Irish policy. The legal side of the question was argued at some length by the Solicitor-General for Ireland and Dr. Ball, and its more general aspects were discussed by Mr. Newdegate and Colonel Stuart Knox on one side, and Mr. Downing and Mr. Callan on the other. Mr. WHALLEY volunteered a defence of Orangemen, and Mr. CONOLLY insisted upon introducing the case of Mr. Madden into the discussion. Viscount CRICHTON having replied,

The House divided, when there appeared—

For the motion . . . 113
Against it . . . 193—80

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL.

Mr. WINTERBOTHAM, having presented fifteen petitions from Dissenting congregations in Norfolk, Leamington, Ramsey, and other places, against this bill in so far as it permits rate-supported schools and denominational education,

Mr. W. E. FORSTER, at a quarter before ten o'clock, rose to propose that the bill be read a second time.

Mr. DIXON rose to move the amendment of which he had given notice:—

That this House is of opinion that no measure for the elementary education of the people will afford a satisfactory or permanent settlement which leaves the question of religious instruction in schools supported by public funds and rates to be determined by local authorities.

He commenced by regretting the necessity of appearing in opposition to the Government, and of being obliged by the terms of the amendment to omit several points of the bill which to him were of the greatest interest. An enormous change would be made by this bill in respect of the relation of the State to education, and, through education, of the State to religion. In a few years, under the operation of the bill, we should have school boards in almost every district of the country. He believed his right hon. friend, the Vice-President of the Committee of Council, admitted that would be the case. In districts where the bill did not provide for the immediate formation of boards, the present school managers, feeling that when boards were formed they would have a preponderating influence, would be anxious to form them. Besides, the attendance would become generally compulsory. The basis of our schools would no longer rest on voluntarism but on the national purse. Instead of hundreds of thousands of pounds being voted, millions would have to be spent out of the rates for the education of the country. Those were great and important changes, and they affected the religious question to a considerable degree. There were persons who thought that the religious difficulty was scarcely felt and scarcely existed; but any one who read what Dr. Riggs said on the subject would see that the Dissenters did not think so. Well, if the religious difficulty was felt now, what might be expected when school rates were levied all over the country, when attendance was compulsory, when the Dissenter would have to send his child to a Church school, a Protestant would have to send his child to a Roman Catholic school, and a Roman Catholic would have to send his child to a Protestant school? The effect of this, even with the condition of the conscience clause, would be that there would be in all the towns contests for seats in the town council, and contests within the town council for seats on the school boards, because it would be felt that on those contests depended the religious teaching of the children. In the rural districts the religious teaching would take the colour of that of the dominant sect, which was usually that of the squire and the parson. (Hear, hear.) At present only about one-half of the country parishes received Government aid, and in the remaining half the Government grant amounted to only about one-third the cost of the school. After the passing of the bill all those schools would receive grants amounting to at least two-thirds, while in some cases the grants would amount to the whole sum required to be spent. In all those cases the minority would be taxed for the religious teaching of the majority. The effect of Clause 7 would be to materially strengthen the denominational system. He thought our object ought to be to check its growth ("Hear" and "No"), to weaken its influence, so that at last it might be banished from our schools. Considering how heavy the rates were at present, he was of opinion that one-half the expense of national schools ought to be borne by the Consolidated Fund, and he was of opinion that it would be better to introduce the Irish national system into England than to export to Ireland the English denominational system, strengthened as it would be by this bill. And if the denominational system were strengthened

in England, what would it be in Ireland? He held that in schools supported by rates the teaching should be unsectarian. If the agitation continued during any long period, there would arise in the country a party which would demand that in every State-aided school the teaching should be exclusively secular. (Hear, hear.) He did not ask for that now ("Hear, hear," from the Opposition); but it was one of the possibilities. The Vice-President of the Committee of Council seemed to have misunderstood the nature and extent of public feeling about the religious question. ("Hear, hear," and "No, no.") His connection with the National Education League had during the agitation of the past two months enabled him to ascertain in what direction public opinion was tending, for it had been one of the objects of that agitation to elicit the opinion of the country on all questions that were likely to arise, in order that legislators might have some basis on which to form an opinion. The difference between unsectarian and secular teaching he defined thus: both would exclude all Christian dogmas, but an unsectarian school would not exclude Christian precepts. (Hear.) His idea was that the school life of children should be entirely apart from sectarian influences, which would result in more Christian harmony and sympathy between the members of different sects. (Laughter from the Opposition.) If the Churches held that they were fighting for religion, and meant by religion the teaching of religious dogmas in all our schools—if, for the sake of that, they were willing to destroy the Irish system, he would ask the House to consider well what the effect of the 7th Clause would be under these circumstances. The first result would be to fasten the teaching of religious dogmas upon every school in a district where there was a predominant sect, and to devote public funds to the maintenance of those schools to the extent of at least two-thirds of the whole cost. And if, as many believed, any conscience clause that they could imagine would be inoperative, then they would see the children of a portion of the minority taught a religion to which their parents objected; while in all cases they would have to force the minority to pay for the teaching of doctrines which they disapproved. They would thus be creating sectarian strife, and deferring for an indefinite period that to which so many were looking forward with hope—namely, the most perfect and complete religious equality in this country. Let him warn the House. The tocsin had been sounded, the forces were mustering, and on the one side would be found the Churches and on the other the Nonconformist bodies. Which of those two parties was likely to prevail if they consulted history they could not have much doubt. But behind those armies there stood an enfranchised people; and the people had always given their vote in favour of equality. If that clause were pressed in its present form, he did not think they would have peace in England until the Churches had laid down their arms defeated. (A laugh, and "Hear, hear.") It had already been whispered to him that if that clause should pass, at every future election in the Liberal boroughs in England, or in any borough, to be a Dissenter would be a qualification, and to be a Churchman a disqualification in the eyes of the Liberal party. But they were told that, although in nearly every school there might be religious teaching based on dogmas, nevertheless, efficient protection would be given by a stringent conscience clause. He believed the opinion of the Nonconformists was that a conscience clause in any shape had been weighed and found wanting, and finally rejected. (Hear.) In fact, the only kind of conscience clause that could be worked properly was a time-table conscience clause, like that adopted in Ireland. The religious instruction in the schools might be as complete as they liked, but let it be separated from the secular instruction in such a way that it would be easy for the children to come or go, and no disability would attach to any child absenting himself from it. He would repeat his objections to Clause 7. It appeared to him that wherever a school board was formed, as it would be in nearly every district, there would be, or might be, a contest for sectarian predominance; and wherever one sect was predominant in a school district, there the colour of that sect would be necessarily given to the religious teaching of the school. Now, the object of his amendment was to declare that this was a fatal blot in the bill. He hoped, before he should go into Committee, the Government would come to the determination that the clause should be considerably modified, and that it should not be left to school boards to decide this religious question—a decision that could only be arrived at after much strife, and, he feared, much religious animosity. He trusted that, by leaving the question to the House to decide, it would resolve it by declaring that all rate-aided schools should be unsectarian, and that all other elementary public schools should have the religious teaching separately given. He had no doubt he should be asked, why not leave this question to be debated in Committee? (Hear, hear.) When he took into consideration those admirable provisions of the bill which declared that in this country efficient schools should be brought to the door of every child, and that attendance should be made compulsory—if he could only feel that the Government would deal with the religious difficulty in a manner more in accordance with the expectations of the Nonconformists he should have the conviction that the Government would receive as their well-merited reward a nation's gratitude. (Hear, hear.) He begged to move "that this House is of opinion that no measure for the elementary education of the people will afford a satisfactory or permanent settlement which leaves the question of religious instruction in schools supported by public funds and rates to be determined by local authorities."

Mr. ILLINGWORTH, in seconding the amendment, said that three great measures had been laid on the table of the House by the present Government—the Irish Church Bill, the Land Bill, and the Education Bill—and it was curious to observe that all these bills were limited in their application. This bill was limited to England, but inasmuch as the two other bills must exercise a powerful influence on another part of the empire, he felt that the decision at which the House might arrive upon this bill would operate powerfully not only in England, but also in Ireland and Scotland. For his part, if he thought that we should have a final settlement of the question on a religious basis, giving one religious body a preference, he would extend to the Irish a privilege which he claimed for ourselves. The denominations had been at work a great number of years, and had done as much as with the machinery as their disposal could be expected; but it was impossible to make adequate provision for the educational destitution of the country unless the State took the matter in hand. The children in our large towns—and he feared he must add in the rural districts also—were now allowed to receive out of doors an education of the most pernicious character; but the Government were bound to take care that though there should be harmony between the new system and the old one, the new system should not be based upon the old model. With regard to the provisions of the Act, they had a right in the first place to ask for a Conscience Clause in the denominational schools now existing, and then to pass on and inquire what must be the conditions under which the new schools to be constituted under the bill should be conducted. He was not going to attempt to determine whether any, or what, religion should be taught in the new schools, but he objected strongly to Parliament abandoning its duty and leaving so serious a question to be decided in vestries in the smaller, or the meetings of corporations in the larger towns. The object of the Irish system, as stated by the Commissioners of National Education, was "to afford combined literary and moral, and separate religious instruction," and this was all that he, and those who thought with him, desired Parliament to do for English schools. (Hear, hear.) He had no desire to put an end to religious teaching; indeed, he believed no education could be complete without it; but he thought that as it was impossible for religious and secular instruction to proceed simultaneously they ought to be more completely separated than was proposed by the bill. Religious teaching ought to be undertaken by the religious bodies, and he believed that an improved system of secular instruction would tend vastly to increase the value and importance of Sunday-schools in the future. The position of the working classes in regard to this question must not be forgotten. Those of them who dwelt in towns were strongly opposed to anything savouring of sectarianism, and he had no doubt the feeling was shared by those artisans who dwelt beyond the boundaries of boroughs. He hoped that in the interest of all classes the Government would seriously ponder the amendment before the House. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. W. E. FORSTER, who on rising was greeted with cheers from the Opposition benches, said that his hon. friend talked about millions being raised by rates (Mr. Dixon: "And taxes"). Well, but practically, the bill provides for a rate of 3d. in the pound, in order to the carrying out of the requirements of the Act. Probably a smaller sum would be required, but if otherwise it would only be a total of 1,250,000l. The amendment was proposed in a friendly spirit, but viewed by Parliamentary precedent, it was hostile to the bill. The questions raised were questions fitted for full deliberation in committee. (Cheers.) The Speaker would put "Aye" or "No" to the second reading, and not "Aye" or "No" to the amendment. He (Mr. Forster) complained that the point at issue was not fairly raised by the resolution, inasmuch as it suggested no alternative mode for disposing of the religious difficulty. He admitted that the mode proposed by the bill was open to objection, but he maintained that it was the least objectionable. If the determination of the question of religious education were not left to the local authorities, it must be decided either by the Government or by Parliament. It was hardly likely that the country would have sufficient confidence in any Executive to leave such a matter in their hand; and, as to the second alternative, he showed that all who had attempted to deal with the religious difficulty, either in amendments to the bill, or in bills of their own (including Mr. Dixon), had been obliged to leave a certain discretion to the local authorities. The only other alternative of settling the question was secularism; and Mr. Forster was loudly cheered by the Opposition in pronouncing emphatically and decidedly against secular education.

A part of this bill provides that when the majority wishes for a secular school, a secular school they shall have. But I ask the House to consider for a moment what would be the effect of decreeing by Act of Parliament that in elementary schools supported by the rates, whether the majority wished it or not, religion should be excluded. Our opinions in religion may be different, but I think we all of us agree in this—that when you go against religion you strike a blow against morality; and if we could solemnly by Act of Parliament tell the parents of the children to be educated that religion is a subject not to be mentioned in the schools, they would suppose that we cared little about religion ourselves. (Hear, hear.) We are told that some active, intelligent artisans—men to whom we look forward with hope that they will take part in the political Government of the country—we are told that they have great doubts on the subject, and that religion ought not to be pushed on them in this way. That may be so, and there is something in their past history to explain it, but if the House wishes to perpetuate that feeling the way to do it is

that religion shall be tabooed. (Hear, hear.) I speak not merely having regard to the present, but as having hope for the future. Surely the time will come when we shall find out how we can agree better on these matters? (Hear.) It is not merely duty for the present and hope for the future, but it is the remembrance of the past that forbids us to exclude religion from the teaching of our schools. I confess I have still in my veins the blood of my Puritan forefathers—(cheers)—and I regret to find that my hon. friend the member for Knarborough seems to think that religion belongs specially to the minister. It belongs to the school-master; it belongs to every man—(cheers)—and I am sure my hon. friend when he thinks over it will see that it is not his place to sanction the doctrine that the priest or the minister must step in between a man and his Maker.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH never intended to say anything of the kind. What he said was, that it belonged to religious bodies to teach religion.

Mr. FORSTER: I would say that it belongs to all religious men to teach religion (Hear, hear), and the master of the school, we trust, will be a religious man. To no religious man can we say, Leave religion alone. Well, then comes the discretion. My hon. friend the member for Birmingham talked of the feeling of the working men. I have some experience of the working men. I know their sympathies, I know their doubts and difficulties; I wish I knew how to answer them; but I am sure of this, the old English Bible is still a sacred thing in their hearts (cheers), and no measure will be more unpopular than that which declares by Act of Parliament that the Bible shall be excluded from the school. (Cheers.) There are countries in which the Bible is excluded. I believe it is excluded in America at the present moment. I have heard a good deal about a coalition being entered into against religious teaching at schools, but I confess I did not expect to see that possible coalition reinforced by the Evangelical Nonconformists. If they were in their educational zeal to exclude the Bible by Act of Parliament, the irreligious difficulty they would thereby create would be far greater. (Cheers.) The principle of the bill lay not in the 7th but in the 14th clause, which dealt with the management and maintenance of schools by local boards, and the burden of proof lay on the objectors who had to explain why the school boards should not be treated precisely the same as any other managers were treated. In replying to the charge that the bill had "shirked" the religious difficulty, Mr. Forster asserted that these local authorities had been chosen because it was thought they were the persons most concerned; and, so far from producing quarrels, he expected that the arrangement would lead more rapidly than any other to a peaceable settlement. A general and rigid rule would not do, and would give rise to more heartburning than if they left the matter alone. Recent news from America showed that differences had arisen between the supreme court and the school boards upon the subject. This could not happen under the present bill, because it would be within the power of the school boards to adopt secular education if they pleased. In Germany, again, the exact religious teaching to be given was described. In Holland, too, there was much religious bitterness in reference to the appointment of masters. They could not, under any system, prevent disputes, and it was better they should occur locally than that ignorance should continue. But if they told the school boards that they must solve it themselves, or the State would do it for them, his firm belief was that the difficulty would disappear. (Hear, hear.) How little it would operate in practice he might show from the case of King Edward's School, Birmingham, of which Mr. Evans wrote to him—

"This school contains nearly 1,000 pupils, of whom more than half are Nonconformists of thirteen different denominations (there were seventeen a short time ago). They all receive a considerable amount of religious instruction, and I may add that the examiners have from time to time reported very favourably on the high average attainments of the boys in divinity. Professor Lightfoot, Canon Westcott, and Dr. Benson were educated here. Any parent who either orally or in writing should express to me his wish to withdraw his son from a religious lesson, on the ground of conscientious scruples, would be at liberty to do so. Of such permission, however, no advantage has been taken except in the case of Jews, who do not attend lessons in the New Testament. The system appears to give entire satisfaction—to none more than to the Rev. C. Vince and the Rev. R. W. Dale, who both have sons in the school. The liberty of conscience thus allowed is not secured by any legal instrument or conscience clause, but rests simply on custom and an understanding between parents and the head-master."

And here is the deduction Mr. Evans draws:—

"If, however, the governors of this school—a self-elected and, for the most part, a conservative body—together with the head-master, a clergyman of the Church of England, have of their own accord devised and carried out a scheme so liberal and so popular, have we not a right to expect an equally liberal scheme of religious instruction from the local boards constituted as proposed in the Government bill?"

That is a practical view of the case, and I really do wish my hon. friends, taking the same view of politics and belonging to the same Radical school as myself, would have a little more confidence in what I have always supposed to be one of the chief Radical tenets, and that is trust in an elected Municipal Government.

He knew there were often hardships endured in country districts, such as in enforcing attendance at Sunday-schools, but they could not change society. What more could they do than give the power of election to the parents? If the election of vestries was not sufficiently guarded, they might talk about it in committee, and perhaps adopt vote by ballot.

Mr. Forster then dealt with the objections to Clause 7:—

Those made by our Nonconformist friends seem to be based partly on principle and partly on practical working. They tell up "This is concurrent endowment over again, and the Church-rate contest over again." (Hear, hear.) I wish hon. members would consider what it is they are now doing with, and what it was they dealt with, when the phrase "concurrent endowment" was invented. In the one case the matter was religion and nothing but religion; in this case it is religious accompaniments to secular instruction—the main object. Hon. members who think we must come to secular education, and nothing but secular education, have a perfect right to say that they will act upon the principle of opposition to all concurrent endowment. I do not gather that many hon. members are prepared to go so far as that; and if they are not they are at this moment sanctioning this principle of concurrent endowment, if, indeed, it applies to education at all. There is concurrent endowment of the denominational schools at the present time. (Hear, hear.) There is, likewise, concurrent endowment of the Roman Catholic and Protestant schools according to the Irish system, in praise of which we have heard so much, and there would be concurrent endowment if the proposals of the hon. member for Birmingham were carried into effect, for if you are to provide a building for religious instruction by different denominations, what is that but concurrent endowment? (Hear, hear.) I think hon. gentlemen generally will find out that they can hardly apply that principle to education. We come back, then, to that which relates more to the real matter in hand—namely, the practical object aimed at by our Nonconformist friends, and the manner in which the religious question is treated by the present bill; and I speak now not so much of Clause 14 as of Clause 7. All I can say of Clause 7 is—"Let it go into committee, and if it can be shown that we have not carried out the principle of that clause we must amend it until the principle is carried out." (Hear, hear.) That principle was in our minds the most perfect protection of the religious opinions of the Dissenters and of the secularists—of every parent, in a word, with regard to his views of religion or even against religion. We wished to give every parent the most complete power to withdraw his child from any religious education of which he might disapprove, and, at the same time, we desired to provide that his child should not lose the secular instruction to which he has a right and for which the rates are paid. We think that principle is carried out by the clause, but if it be proved to us that it is not, we must amend the clause until it does carry out the principle. If by passing this measure they destroyed the present educational agencies, it will be long before they could do as much good as they should have done harm, and, therefore, as a friend of education, and of education only, he was anxious that they should help every person, whether he belonged to the Church of England or not, who was willing to spend either his time or his money in promoting education among his poorer neighbours; and upon one condition—namely, that the help should not be afforded if any attempt were made at persecution or illegitimate proselytising. (Hear, hear.) He could not bear the thought that this, which he believed to be one of the strongest radical measures which could be proposed—should not pass the second reading because the Radicals opposed it. It was a bill in framing which they had endeavoured to carry out two principles—the most perfect protection to the parent and the securing of the most complete fairness and impartiality in the treatment of all religious denominations. If, in order to carry out these principles, it was necessary to amend the provisions of this bill, that must be done. He asked the House, then, not to give its assent to a mere abstract proposition. Let them join in Committee in the endeavour to find some way by which the difficulties which had been pointed out might be met, and he had not the slightest doubt they should succeed in the attempt, and thus bring this great work to a satisfactory conclusion. (Cheers.)

At this point the debate was adjourned on the motion of Mr. WINTERBOTHAM, and the members who had motions on the paper for the next evening, Mr. Graves, Mr. S. Beaumont, and others, withdrew them to make way for it.

The House went into Committee of Supply, and agreed to votes to cover excesses in the Civil Service Estimates.

The other business was disposed of, and the House adjourned at thirty-five minutes past one o'clock.

IRISH NEWS.—Two of the ruffians who some weeks ago broke into the house of Mr. O'Connor, of Moor Rock Lodge, King's County, and out off his nose, were convicted of the outrage on Wednesday. One of them was sentenced to fourteen years' and the other to seven years' penal servitude. The *Times*' Dublin correspondent says arrangements are in progress for having a great "national" demonstration on the 17th inst., to celebrate St. Patrick's Day. It is intended to be held in different parts of the country, and to combine patriotism and pleasure in the most popular forms. In charging the grand jury at the Cork Assizes, Mr. Justice Fitzgerald pronounced the state of the Munster Circuit as, upon the whole, satisfactory. Chief Justice Monahan, in opening the assizes at Tullamore, referred to several instances in which threatening letters had been received, and regretted that no one had been made amenable to justice for this description of crime. Baron Hughes, in addressing the grand jury at Waterford, expressed his belief that the sending of such letters was generally the work of one person in a district. Lord Chief Justice Whiteside, in addressing the Donegal grand jury, on Saturday, said that he regretted to say that as regarded the number of crimes and their serious character Donegal was the worst on the circuit, with the exception of Cavan. A new description of crime in the county had shown itself at Bundoran, where armed men had visited certain tenant farmers' houses and threatened them against paying an increased rent.

Postscript.

Wednesday, March 16th, 1870.

YESTERDAY'S PARLIAMENT.

Little actual business was transacted at the short sitting of the House of Lords last night, but there was some conversation about the movement of troops in Ireland, and the gravelling of roads in Hyde Park.

The first three-quarters of an hour after the assembly of the House of Commons was occupied in the discussion of a private bill—the Thames Navigation Bill—the second reading of which was ultimately carried by a very large majority. Then Mr. Lowe fixed Monday, April 11, for the opening of his Budget; and when reminded by Colonel Wilson Patten that that day will fall within the limits of the usual Easter holidays, he excited a hollow laugh by quietly replying, "I am afraid we can't afford to take any holidays."

Leave was given to Mr. Andrew Johnston to bring in a bill to provide for the better arrangement of parishes within the City of London; and to Mr. P. Taylor to introduce a measure for the abolition of the Game Laws.

THE EDUCATION BILL. ADJOURNED DEBATE.

The other business having been postponed, the adjourned debate on Mr. Dixon's amendment to the second reading of the Education Bill was resumed by

Mr. WINTERBOTHAM, who, premising that the intelligent co-operation of the people was necessary to the settlement of the question, regretted that the Government had not delayed dealing with it until next year.

It was clear that the current of public opinion was setting strongly against the present system and in favour of a national comprehensive system of education; and it was the duty of those who shared that feeling to express it in that House. The first question that arose was, why had they a bill at all? Had the present system failed to provide schools? He did not think it could justly be said that it had. It never professed to provide them, and was not intended to do so. Moreover, the public aid which was granted for education had never been deliberately approved by Parliament. It had been said that the public faith was pledged to the existing schools. In what sense was it pledged to their maintenance? When was it pledged, and who had a right to pledge it?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER said he did not recollect saying that the public faith was pledged in the matter.

Mr. WINTERBOTHAM said the claim had assuredly been put forward, and it was understood to be accepted by the Government; but he protested against such a doctrine as both unconstitutional and unjust. (Cheers.) The system and the conditions of the grants had been repeatedly changed, and even this bill contained two fundamental conditions which were protested against by those who had received aid. (Hear, hear.) A noble lord opposite had complained that the abolition of the denominational inspection and the imposition of a conscience clause constituted a breach of good faith towards the managers of the schools; but that statement would not bear examination, there being no difference in principle between this case and that of Maynooth College or of the Irish Church. (Hear, hear.) If the present school system could be justified on its merits, let it stand; if it were condemned as inefficient, wasteful, and crying unjust, let it fall. (Hear, hear.) But though he protested against the clause in question, and would facilitate the absorption of the existing schools into a national system, yet he contended that upon bare grounds of utilitarianism their continuance might be justified if they accepted such conditions as would render them available for the public good. He believed that in that case it would be a great waste of public money and strength to attempt to supplant them, and thought that between candid men conditions might be framed which would make them of public service. The fundamental vices of the denominational system were, in his opinion, that it was insufficient, that it was wasteful, that it multiplied schools unduly in large towns, and that it was unequal and unjust. It was unequal because while it favoured the wealthy, it sent the poor empty away; it was unjust as between religious sects because nearly the whole of the public grants went to the sect which was most wealthy, and possessed nearly all the educational endowments. Since the system of grants commenced in 1839, 10,000,000*l.* had been expended, and of that amount 6,300,000*l.* went directly to the schools of the Established Church, and only 1,600,000*l.* to all the other schools, Protestant and Roman Catholic. Taking into account the proportion of the 1,000,000*l.* expended in administration, it was not too much to say that the Church received 7,000,000*l.* out of the 10,000,000*l.* His principal objection, however, to the present system, was one which applied still more strongly to the schools to be established under the bill. Two of the provisions of that measure were worth almost anything. If it passed there would be an efficient school accessible to every child in the land, and it would recognise the right of the State to interfere, in order to prevent the avarice, or the indifference, or even the poverty of a parent, from standing in the way of a child's attaining that elementary knowledge which was necessary for its own welfare, and to prevent its becoming a burden and a curse to the community. (Cheers.) These were two great steps in advance, but unfortunately, in taking them the Government had trampled upon some of the most cherished convictions and deepest feelings of half the people of the land. (Hear, hear.) On the previous night he was touched with respectful sympathy as he

listened to the right hon. gentleman's (Mr. Forster's) statement; but the right hon. gentleman should remember that indecision or inaction was often as fatal in the result as the worst possible judgment could be. Squire Shandy, wishing to write a book for the education of his boy, was so careful in doing it, that the boy grew up without any education at all. (Laughter.) As a Nonconformist, he (Mr. Winterbotham) objected to the clause in the bill which left to the school board the decision of the question of religious teaching, on the ground that it would bring discord into every parish in the land. (Hear.) It would stimulate sectarian animosity and strife where they were dying out, and would revive, as it were, the Church-rate controversy where it was dead and buried. This would be a great wrong, and the bill, instead of being a blessing, would prove a curse. In rural parishes the schools would, in spite of disputing and opposition, be entirely under the influence of the squire and the parson. The denominational system to be created under the bill would be worse by many degrees than that which now existed. In fact, that system would be perpetuated, extended, and intensified. There was growing up on this subject every day doubt, suspicion, dislike, disgust, and irritation, and all this was of itself a great evil. Nonconformists had not been wanting in fidelity to the head of the present Government, and they did not expect to be treated in that way. He could justify that state of feeling, for there was a fear of proselytising influences, though he thought that fear was exaggerated; and he thought that protection could be given against it by a fair and honest conscience clause, except in the case of exceptional and self-convicted fanatics like Archdeacon Denison. (Laughter.) But what was the real mistake made by his right hon. friend? He would tell them how the question stood. The House must understand the attitude which Dissent bore to the Church in the rural parishes, and also the attitude which the Church assumed towards Dissent. To illustrate his position, he would not take a man of extreme opinions like Archdeacon Denison, but he would take an eminent prelate of the Church who had recently been promoted from Oxford to Winchester—a man able and zealous, and, in his own opinion, a model prelate and a model Churchman. (Laughter.) That right rev. prelate, in his charge to the diocese of Oxford in 1863, and again in his farewell charge last year, stated that there were three great obstacles to the religious and moral progress of the people, and these were beershops, Dissent, and overcrowded cottages. (Laughter.) He was not there to question the charity of such language in the mouth of a Christian minister, but he would ask of every candid man, as a question strictly relevant to the present subject, whether it was in human nature not to resent such fanatic language? (Cheers.) And when that prelate went on to warn his clergy that if there was such an unfortunate man in his diocese who connived at Dissent, he was, therefore, guilty of it, and pointed out that the remedy for Dissent was distinctive Church teaching in the schools of the country, it was not unreasonable that the Dissenters hesitated to commit the education of their children to the keeping of men who acted upon that principle. (Hear, hear.) He gladly owned that there were numerous and noble exceptions, and if all the bishops of the Church of England were Thirlwalls and Temples—(Hear, hear)—the House would hear no more of these objections or misgivings, for the Dissenters could trust such men; but they did not trust such men as the prelate to whom he had alluded. Of course, he spoke of him in his public capacity. He asserted that that right rev. prelate was a very fair type of the attitude of the Church towards Dissent throughout the country; to borrow an illustration from his right hon. friend, it was treated by the Church of England clergy as if it were a cattle-plague, to be stamped out. Every petty social tyranny was used by those men for the purpose of stamping out Dissent in the rural parishes. He did not blame the clergy; it was the fault of their circumstances, and was due to two causes. First and obviously, to an Established Church—(Hear, hear)—and secondly to the parochial system. By the law of the Church and that of the land there was in every parish one man only who was the authorised religious teacher; every other religious teacher, or, indeed, teacher of any kind, was an interloper and poacher upon his spiritual preserves. (Hear, hear.) Another thing had happened, namely, the growth of new-fangled Romish notions in the Church of England, which had spread a belief in priestly power more or less undefined, and raised a spirit of individual dignity in these men which had led in many instances to positive petty persecution. ("Oh, oh.") If any hon. gentleman opposite wanted to know what Dissenters suffered, let him turn Dissenter, and live for twelve months in a rural parish. (Hear, hear.) The necessary consequence of the attitude of Dissent towards the Church was, at the best, separation. There was no co-operation in any philanthropic or social movement. There was a spirit ready to take offence, and a spirit of watchful jealousy always guarding against assumption on the part of the Church. He did not ask the Government to interfere in this matter, but he did appeal to them not to increase the difficulty. A wise statesman would recognise these facts, and endeavour as far as possible to remove all social and political action from the sphere of those sectarian differences, and increase the neutral subjects on which men of different creeds might meet together and confer with each other in friendly intercourse. (Hear, hear.) He wished to speak frankly on this subject. There were many Dissenters, and he was one of them, who would look with regret upon the downfall of the Established Church, though she had been a cruel step-mother to the Dissenters. But he would ask them to take warning from history. No one would think that he was so foolish or extravagant as to compare the Established Church with slavery in America, but their fate might not be unlike. If slavery in America had been content to remain what it was, it might have lasted to the present day, but when it insisted upon contesting with freedom for the control of new soil and new States, it sealed its own downfall. (Hear, hear.) And he said to the friends of the Established Church that if they persisted in sowing its pernicious seed broadcast upon every new field of national life that opened, as they were doing in the matter of education, then be assured they would necessitate every effort the Dissenters could put forward for its utter destruction. This was the real reason why the Dissenters objected to denominational schools as tending

to create an Established Church in every school; and they demanded that all schools should be put upon an equality. (Hear, hear.) The alternative was that of purely secular schools, and he was not afraid of the odium with which that name had been assailed, although Dr. Magee, at once an oratorical Irishman and a bishop—(laughter)—had denounced the secular system as being atheistical. His right hon. friend was mistaken when he said that education in Ireland was denominational. No doubt that might be so to a certain extent, but the object of the Irish education system was purely undenominational, and the model schools were founded upon that principle. He looked upon a united system of education as the sole hope of the regeneration of the Irish people, and he for one would not vote a denominational system in that country. He was satisfied that they could not separate the question of education in the two countries—they could not have a denominational system here and not in Ireland; and he would put it to hon. gentlemen from the North of Ireland whether they were prepared to institute the system of denominational education in Ireland by aiding it in this country. He appealed to the right hon. gentleman at the head of the Government to deal out to the Dissenters even-handed justice and equality in this matter of education. (Hear, hear.) He thought his right hon. friend had acted unfairly in making allusions to the Bible. Dissenters were not wanting in respect to that book, which was their only manual of religion. They owed no allegiance to Pope, or bishop, or Privy Council. The Dissenter did not love his Bible less because he supported secular education. He (Mr. Winterbotham) claimed for those who supported that system as deep and true a reverence for the Bible and for religion as for any man or sect on earth. (Cheers.) Let not his right honourable friend mistake the present half-formed opinions for the permanent indecision of Dissenters. Their feeling was strong, growing, and powerful, but though they were being wounded by their friends, they would not withdraw their support from the Government on account of this bill. The wrong would be forgiven, but the injustice was not the less certain of being bitterly remembered.

Lord ROBERT MONTAGU cordially supported the bill, though it needed amendment in several particulars to make it more effective. Mr. H. B. SAMUELSON urged Mr. Dixon to withdraw his amendment. Mr. CORRANCE accepted the bill as affording a satisfactory basis of settlement; as did also Mr. KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH, who, in an able maiden speech, replied to the objections urged by the supporters of the amendment, for which he could not vote because it was hostile to the second reading, was supported on so many different grounds, offered no solution of the difficulty. Mr. BERESFORD HOPE also inculcated the necessity of moderation and charity, if the question were to be settled, and he warned the movers of the amendment that if this opportunity were lost it would be turned into a battle-cry of party perhaps for years to come.

Mr. MIALI: I have listened to the honourable member for Cambridge University with great interest. There is something so kindly in his spirit, and so innocent—and I may add so antique—in his conservatism, that I feel great regret when obliged to oppose him. He brings forward also such points in justification of his argument, as to leave no doubt as to the intentions and opinions of those who act with him. I must, however, correct the honourable member in one respect. He referred to sectarian teaching in Dissenting schools, and he supposed evidently that in all such schools the Westminster Catechism would be taught.

Mr. HOPE: It is taught in the Presbyterian schools in Scotland.

Mr. MIALI: Yes; but we are speaking of the Dissenting schools of England. (Hear, hear.) And I may say that no sectarian doctrine, no distinctive denominational doctrine, is taught in any school of Dissenters of which I have any knowledge. Nothing which is distinctive of Congregationalism, nothing which is distinctive of Baptist views, nothing that I know distinctive of Methodism is taught in any school, managed by the Nonconformist body or by Methodists. We can all meet together, and have done so for I know not how many years, under the British school system, by which the primary elements of Christian truth are instilled into the minds of the children, without any distinctive tenet or any sectarian bias whatever. Now let me in the first place take my share of the responsibility, such as it may be, for the amendment which has been brought forward to the second reading of the bill. I was not present, it is true, at the meeting at which this amendment was decided on, but I concurred in it, and I concurred simply on these grounds. The bill was a large bill, dealing with the education of the country, and it was a bill that embodied five or six principles of great magnitude, of several of which we heartily approved, but there was one principle, and that a principle of considerable importance, which we looked upon with disfavour, and about that principle there clustered a great many questions connected with the religious management of the schools to be created under this bill, with which it would be impossible for us to deal in committee in a manner which would be satisfactory to ourselves or to our constituents. It was necessary to attack that principle, and to urge the grounds of our opposition to what may be called the denominational scheme at a time when our opposition would be available, and when we could make our reasons thoroughly understood. Every one knows that when we get into committee, questions of principle are

usually frittered away, and we thought therefore it was better for us to state fully, fairly, and impressively before the House the fault we find in the bill, and that we could not do, unless we raised the question on the second reading. Let me again take on myself whatever share of responsibility may be necessary in the sentiments which have been so eloquently expressed this evening by my hon. and learned friend, the member for Stroud, who has truly interpreted the feelings and opinions of Dissenters with regard to the bill. (Hear, hear.) It has been said of him that he has introduced party feeling into the discussion of this question, but I believe that he has done nothing of the kind. He has simply stated to the Government and to the House facts which we all knew to exist, and which it would be far better for the House to understand, than to proceed to legislate on this great question in an unsatisfactory manner—unsatisfactory because the House was not in possession of the real facts of the case. The course of my honourable and learned friend may be deprecated or may be justified according to the opinion of gentlemen who sit on this or the other side of the House, but my hon. and learned friend has put his finger precisely on the very points on which the Dissenters of this kingdom would ground their opposition to the bill. No doubt we are sectarian, bitterly sectarian. Yes! But why is this question forced upon us at all? (Hear, hear.) We do not ask you to support our sectarian teaching; we ask simply that the education of the children of this country should be governed by large principles of religious equality. (Hear, hear.) We have never requested that we should be put in a position of superiority to you, but we have hitherto been put in a position of practical inferiority. It is impossible—I do not want to find fault with any one's motives—but it is impossible, under the present system in which one body of Christians is associated with the State and favoured by the civil power, that you can put this educational question on a basis which would be satisfactory to all, unless you abandon something of those pretensions which have generally been advanced on this subject. I think it only fair the House should know that the speech of my hon. and learned friend the member for Stroud precisely stated the case, although with perfect good temper, and therefore it is impossible to misunderstand the position in which we are placed. I do trust that what I am now saying will be borne in mind with reference to this question hereafter. (Hear.) Now, Sir, one word of defence. We have been accused of faction. I think the hon. member for Cambridge University said that we were a disappointed and discontented faction. I do not plead guilty to the charge of being faction, but I certainly say that we have been miserably disappointed—disappointed because we had expected other and better things. (Loud cries of "Hear, hear.") We remembered the legislation of last session, and the principles which were then established with reference to the Irish Church. We remembered that the extension of the franchise had placed this question of education in a far more advanced position, and we thought we were nearer in view of its satisfactory settlement than ever we had been before. We felt that we had a right to look to the present Government to place this great question of education on a basis which should be completely satisfactory to all parties. Now look at the curious position in which we are placed! The facts of the last few days are really of an instructive kind and character. Yesterday and to-day a host of petitions has been presented against the religious clauses of the bill, and coming from where? They all came from this side of the House, and represented the feeling which is entertained with regard to the bill by persons of the Liberal party throughout almost the entire country. (Hear, hear.) We have had petitions presented also in favour of the bill, but they do not come from this side of the House. ("Oh, oh," and some dissent.) Now, if we can settle this question it will be all the more satisfactory a settlement if we can co-operate with gentlemen on the other side of the House, and there is no desire on the part of any one on this side of the House to prevent that co-operation. Is it not odd, however, that all the discontent with the bill should arise amongst the friends of Government throughout England? Is it not odd that the friends of Her Majesty's Government are dismayed, and that their natural adversaries are radiant with joy? Does not my right hon. friend himself feel a little conscious that the position which he assumes on this question is somewhat an unsound one? Does he not feel that he may perhaps have trampled on feelings which he did not suspect to exist, but which nevertheless have shown, not only that they exist, but that they are in great force? (Hear, hear.) Well, what we want is not to cast out the bill. (Cheers.) There is no wish, I am sure, on this side of the House in the breast of any hon. member that the bill should be rejected, or that it should not be made the basis of a final settlement of the question, so far as a final settlement of it can be made in our time. (Hear, hear.) I believe that if it were possible to select a dozen men, representatives of all parties in this House, and to send them upstairs to consider these clauses of the bill which affect religious teaching—I believe that in such a case it would be possible to introduce such a machinery as would effect the object we have in view. (Hear, hear.) I see no reason why they should not come to a conclusion—to such a conclusion, at all events, as would permit the bill to be read the second time, and to pass easily through committee. There must be concessions made somewhere. (Cheers and counter cheers.) It is impossible that the bill can be satisfactory as it stands. (Hear, hear.) I believe

that it will defeat its own object, even if it be settled upon the basis laid down by my right hon. friend. (Hear, hear.) I am sure that it would be a bitter disappointment to him to find that the bill did not work as he expected it would; and I implore him—and the Government of which he is a member—and the right hon. gentleman at the head of it, to consider whether it would not be possible so to alter that principle of the bill which has been selected for disapprobation in the present amendment, as to solve this religious difficulty in the House itself, and not to send it down to be a source of perpetual torment in the social relations of the people, especially in the villages. (Cheers.) What were we sent for to this House? This question engaged public attention at the time of the election. I myself was pledged by my constituents to vote for unsectarian and undenominational education. (Cheers.) I believe that we could arrive at a conclusion as to unsectarian education, if we were only to come to the consideration of the question with the determination to accomplish such a settlement of it. (Hear, hear.) And if we can do this, if we can arrive at a friendly settlement on a basis which I am firmly persuaded exists, why then the bill might easily pass through committee and become law before the end of the session. (Hear, hear.) I should be extremely sorry if a measure for education should be endangered by the principle—the false principle, as I believe—contained in this bill. Let us get rid of that principle if we can. At all events, let us consider if we cannot get rid of it. (Hear, hear.) And having done so, I think we shall have then done our best towards the accomplishment of the great object we have in view. (Cheers.)

Sir ROUNDELL PALMER insisted on the importance of securing in the settlement of the question the co-operation of the religious bodies who hitherto had done all the work of education. The supplementary education which it was desired to set up, he argued, ought to be under the direction of the local authority, because the system would be more elastic and more easily adapted to the varying wants of each district. But the local authorities would not tax themselves for the establishment of these supplementary schools if they were not allowed to choose their own form of education; and for the central Government to interfere would be gross tyranny, particularly if the element of compulsion were to be added to local taxation. The mind of the country, he maintained, was set on religious education, and the majority had rights as well as minorities, which would be violated if the teachers were forbidden, in teaching morality, to refer to its source and highest sanction.

The Hon. A. HERBERT, in a maiden speech, eloquently referred to the defects of the Government Bill.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER could not understand the motives of those who, agreeing in matters of greater importance, had fired on a minor part of the bill for their opposition. He admitted that there were objections to the clause against which the amendment was aimed—that it would lead to controversy, and so on—but no solution could be found which was not also full of objections. The Government, instead of being wedded to their own solution, were willing to listen to any better suggestion for meeting the difficulty. He denied altogether that they had "nailed their colours to the mast," and he exhorted the House to go into Committee, where they would find the Government ready to meet all proposals in a practical and conciliatory spirit.

Mr. V. HARCOURT moved the adjournment of the debate. He was met by loud cries of "Go on," and the motion, though assented to by the Government, gave rise to a sharp conversation. A remark by Mr. FAWCETT (who declined to be a party to closing the debate on Friday) drew from Mr. HARDY a rejoinder charging the opponents of the bill with the sole object of delay; but ultimately the debate was adjourned until Friday.

The other business was disposed of, and the House adjourned at half-past twelve o'clock.

MARK-LANE.—THIS DAY.

Consistwise as well as by rail, the receipts of English wheat have been only moderate. The demand has not been active, but Monday's improvement has been maintained. There has been a moderate show of foreign wheat on the stands. The inquiry has been limited. Prices, however, have ruled firm. Moderate supplies of barley have been on offer. The trade has been firm, but not active, at full quotations. Malt has been quiet, at late rates. The market has been moderately supplied with oats. Sales have progressed slowly, on former terms. Beans and peas have been quiet, but firm. Flour has been steady, at late rates.

ARRIVALS THIS WEEK.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Malt.	Oats.	Flour.
English & Scotch	130	—	—	—	—
Irish	—	—	—	—	—
Foreign	2,600	11,020	—	12,070	440 cks.
					2,520 brls.
					Maize, 7,500 qrs.

COMPARATIVE QUANTITIES AND PRICES OF GRAIN.

For the week ending March 12. For the corresponding week last year.

	Qrs.	Av. s. d.		Qrs.	Av. s. d.
Wheat	66,475	49 9	Wheat	56,203	48 10
Barley	39,070	33 10	Barley	27,727	45 6
Oats	7,229	20 10	Oats	4,063	27 10

On Sunday morning there was the heaviest fall of snow this season, but it soon disappeared.

THE EDUCATION BILL.

At the MEETING of the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE of the SOCIETY for the LIBERATION of RELIGION from STATE PATRONAGE and CONTROL, held MARCH 11, 1870, it was

RESOLVED—

1. That, without affirming or denying the expediency of State interference with education, a question not within the scope of the Society's objects, this Committee is of opinion that the Education Bill now before Parliament contravenes the Society's principles, and, therefore, ought to be amended.
2. That the Bill will allow of the continuance, and the creation, at the public expense of schools—whether denominational or otherwise—in which there may be imparted dogmatic religious instruction opposed to the wishes of both parents and ratepayers, and in which schools attendance may be enforced by law.
3. That the absolute power given to school boards to determine the religious character of schools will inevitably lead to local conflicts, to secure ecclesiastical ascendancy on the one hand, and to protect the rights of conscience on the other.
4. That the most stringent conscience clause which is dependent on the action of parents will prove wholly inadequate for its intended purpose, and that it is, therefore, the duty of the Legislature to prevent, as far as possible, by defective legislation, any infringement of parental rights in connection with education.
5. That inquiries by Her Majesty's Inspectors into the religious instruction given in schools ought to be altogether discontinued, more especially as it is intended that Inspectors shall henceforth be appointed irrespective of ecclesiastical considerations.
6. That the Society's friends be strongly urged to endeavour, by means of petitions, of communications to their Parliamentary representatives, and of other measures, to secure such modifications of the provisions of the Bill as will remove these and similar objections.

J. CARVELL WILLIAMS, Secretary.
3, Serjeants'-Inn, Fleet-street, E.C.

SOCIETY for ORGANISING CHARITABLE RELIEF and REPRESSING MENDICITY.

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CONTENTS.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"Fraser."—Next week.

"W. W."—We have no space for his letter.

"W. R. T."—The bishops being so divided that the question of Biblical revision has fallen through, the subject has for the moment lost its practical interest.

The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 16, 1870.

SUMMARY.

THE four nights' debate on the Irish Land Bill was brought to a close early on Saturday morning. The knowledge that it would not meet with serious opposition deprived the discussion of any special interest. The severe criticism of Mr. Hardy, Lord Elcho, and Mr. Disraeli would have warranted a motion for the rejection of the Bill. Mr. Horsman delivered a laborious eulogium on the Government plan, but, with Sir Roundell Palmer, insisted upon strong measures for the repression of Irish crime. Many of the Irish Liberals cordially supported the Bill, while Sir John Gray denounced it, and was properly rebuked by Mr. Monsell for having done his best to prevent the measure operating as a message of peace to Ireland. The closing speech of Mr. Gladstone was marked by a tone of confidence and firmness, though his earnest appeal to the discontented Irish members failed to make an impression. Mr. Bryan insisted on a division, and eleven members (three of whom were Conservatives) accompanied him into the lobby, while the unprecedented majority of 433 was given in favour of the second reading of the Bill.

The Prime Minister in his closing speech admitted that some blots on the measure had been pointed out. He is willing to reconsider the clauses relating to cottage allotments for labourers, to leasing powers, to the payment of county cess, and to the combination of damages for eviction and improvements; to modify the law of distress, to amend the wording of the Ulster custom clause, and so to frame the loan clauses as to mark more distinctly their experimental character. When the Bill goes into Committee on Monday next, Mr. Disraeli will, it is said, be prepared to insist on the general principle of free contract between landlord and tenant in the future, to propose that the county cess shall not be a burden on landlords in the case of holdings under 4l. in value, and to resist the provision by which every "improvement" is to be presumed to be the property of the tenant. Something like these amendments was accepted at a meeting of the Conservative party at Lord Lonsdale's yesterday. The unreasonable Irish Liberals will thus see that the measure against which they clamour is far too stringent to suit the tastes of Irish landlords in both Houses of Parliament, and the discovery may operate beneficially upon their minds.

The debate which commenced on Monday on

the second reading of the Government Education Bill, or rather on Mr. Dixon's amendment against the transfer of the religious difficulty to the District School Boards, was resumed last night. Mr. Winterbotham led the way with a brilliant, exhaustive, and deservedly applauded speech, which stated with clearness and force the objection of Nonconformists to certain provisions of the Bill. The hon. member for Stroud having left little margin for those who followed on the same side, without needless repetition of the same arguments, Mr. Miall, whose speech we are able to give in full, contented himself with a general support of his views and an earnest appeal to the Government to consent to a modification of the obnoxious religious clauses. The Bill was eulogised by Lord R. Montagu, Mr. Beresford Hope, and Sir Roundell Palmer, because it so effectually preserved, and provided for the extension of, denominational education. It was evident in the course of the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who closed the night's debate, that the objections and appeals of their Liberal and Nonconformist supporters had produced a distinct impression on the Treasury Bench. "Instead of the Government clinging with dogged pertinacity to a particular view, there is not," said Mr. Lowe, "one of us who will not rejoice if any hon. gentleman should point out a better way of promoting peace and concord, and of carrying out the object which we all have so much at heart. I hope we shall hear no more of any idea being entertained that the Government have nailed their colours to the mast, that no concession will be made, and that we are determined to abide by the Bill to the bitter end. There is no such intention on the part of the Government." We trust this declaration is the pledge of adequate concessions, and that when the debate is resumed on Friday night, the Prime Minister will be able to give such assurances and announce such amendments, as will enable Mr. Dixon to withdraw his amendment, the Liberals to vote heartily and in a body for the Education Bill, and as will put an end to the painful and formidable out-door agitation directed against the Government measure.

Mr. McLaren's Bill for the abolition of Church-rates in Scotland was thrown out on Wednesday by a majority of 117—the late Tory Lord Advocate leading the Opposition, supported by the present occupant of that office. The grievance complained of is a real one, though differing in many respects from English Church-rates, being a burden on the land. The statement that the Bill would, to a certain extent, disendow the Established Church of Scotland seems to have alarmed the moderate Liberals, some seventy of whom followed the two Lord Advocates into the lobby and put an end to the measure. This is the first, and we hope it may be the last, symptom of the disintegration of the Liberal majority.

The Conservative party have been keeping up their spirits by a great City banquet. The holding such a festival during Lent has shocked our High Church contemporary, the *John Bull*, and not a clergyman seems to have been present to say grace on the occasion. It cannot be denied that, in the fallen condition of the party, the advice given by Mr. Disraeli—who only sent a letter—and by Mr. Gathorne Hardy, is sound and reasonable. The Conservative leader insists upon the importance of registration; his lieutenant repudiates the idea of depending on minority clauses, and recommends patient waiting for the falling asunder of the Liberal majority. Mr. Hardy loathes the idea of another Conservative Government existing by the sufferance of their opponents; so that, unless any extraordinary conjuncture should arise, the party may expect to remain out in the cold a long time. But the Conservatives in both Houses are beginning to exhibit more distinct signs of cohesion and purpose than at the beginning of the Session.

The Ollivier Administration makes steady progress. The Parliamentary dinner which came off last week in Paris exhibits the Government as leaning more heavily on the Left Centre, and as entirely faithful to their traditions. "Our partisans," said the head of the Cabinet, "are not courtiers nor flatterers, but our friends of old time, the companions of our battles, and those new friends who have joined these dear friends of the first hour are not with us to salute a sudden elevation, but to render homage to our long perseverance in the same principles, and to aid in the triumph of our cause." He asked that the Government should be faithfully told of their faults. It was the speech of a strong and modest statesman. The Legislative Body is not in session, but M. Ollivier is engaged in a silent conflict with the Senate, who decline to part with their prerogatives as constitution-mongers, and threaten to

refuse the new proposal for the election of mayors; but they are restrained by the belief that the Emperor goes, willingly or unwillingly, with his all-powerful Keeper of the Seals.

The Pope is as much as ever bent upon some kind of definition of his infallibility, and a formula has been proposed and published, which is said to be acquiesced in by all but a score of members of the Vatican Council, and is certainly not inconsistent with the theory of the Romish Church. Perhaps by Easter the dogma, such as it is, will be proclaimed to the world by flourish of trumpets. Pius IX. must be heartily sick of his Œcumenical Council, which has thus far done little else but criticise the *schema* put before it. He can issue Bulls without asking episcopal advice; and the French Government are becoming so troublesome, that nothing but an early close of the Council will relieve the Pope and his advisers from their perplexity, and the evils of growing opposition.

A remarkable and fatal duel has taken place at Madrid which may have important political consequences. A lampoon published by the Infante, Don Henry de Bourbon, has led to a hostile encounter with the Duke de Montpensier, in which the former was killed. Looking at this catastrophe with English eyes, we might conclude that it would be an insuperable obstacle to the Duke's pretensions to royal honours. But Spaniards have their own notions about duelling. The Duke de Montpensier was not the aggressor in this fatal quarrel, and it is quite possible that the event will revive his waning popularity, or at least give him a stronger hold upon the army, which may, sooner or later, decide the destinies of Spain.

REPRESSION OF CRIME IN IRELAND.

It is not easy to understand the dissatisfaction expressed in both Houses of Parliament on Monday night with the Ministerial statement of the proposals for "improving the securities for the maintenance of life and property in Ireland." To-morrow night, as was announced, Mr. Chichester Fortescue will bring in a Bill on the subject, upon which occasion the floodgates of senatorial eloquence in reference to Irish outrages will be opened. We cannot help thinking, therefore, that the Ministerial leaders in either House exercised a wise discretion in confining themselves to a very brief outline of the measure, which will so soon be introduced in the regular way. It is as easy to create unnecessary panic as it is to promote false security by the mode of discharging a public duty. In the Commons discussion was judiciously avoided. But the Lords could not exercise so much self-restraint. The Duke of Richmond and Lord Salisbury not only spoke of the statement as "very meagre" and "bald," but characterised the remedies hinted at as "slight" and "inadequate." We are at a loss to perceive the justice of these remarks, and cannot but remember that they come from the lips of public men whose main panacea for Ireland is, and always has been, coercion, and who are, without any concealment, averse to the beneficent policy towards that country which the present Government have initiated.

The deplorable state of things in Ireland for which a legislative remedy has to be found, was sufficiently revealed in the recent charges of the judges on circuit. A dangerous spirit of lawlessness prevails in certain districts, springing not from pressing grievances, but from perverted sentiment and exceptional conditions. But it is to be borne in mind that whole counties are absolutely free from this unhappy tendency. Mr. Justice Fitzgerald, for instance, bears testimony that, in the entire province of Munster, the criminal record is far from heavy, and exceptional crimes have been of rare occurrence. The reign of terrorism prevails within well-defined and comparatively narrow limits. It exhibits itself in occasional agrarian assassinations and frequent agrarian outrages, in the reluctance of the population to support the law, in the inability to detect crime, in the difficulty of obtaining convictions, and in the growing use of threatening letters. Unhappily such phenomena are not new in the history of Ireland, though their results are aggravated just now by special developments. We had coercion bills to meet agrarian crime in Ireland in 1833, 1847, 1856, and an entire suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in 1868. The Ribbon conspiracy has never died out. It has been kept in existence by that landlord oppression in various districts for which the Imperial Government have at length the courage to provide an effectual legislative remedy. But the chronic disaffection of particular districts, owing to agrarian wrongs and culpable evictions, has been developed into lawlessness and disaffection by the ceaseless action

of seditious newspapers under Fenian inspiration, which are trading upon popular excitement and poisoning the minds of an impulsive peasantry.

For the specific evils thus briefly indicated, the Government propose a specific remedy. Though no parade has been made on the subject the statements made on Monday might indicate a very stringent though restricted repressive policy. "It will not," says Mr. Gladstone, "place in the hands of the Executive Government any general power of suspending personal liberty, nor will it revive those provisions of the Act of 1833 which related to the trial of offences by courts-martial, but it will provide means of summary trial and punishment in a manner applicable to the offences which will be created by the Bill." The Bill will provide a temporary cure for a temporary disorder, and will only take effect in districts proclaimed by the Lord Lieutenant. It will give the Executive increased powers for obtaining evidence in cases of deeds of violence—the one lamentable defect at present in the administration of the law in Ireland. To persons who suffer outrage, or to their relatives in certain cases, it will award compensation at the cost of the districts where such crimes are perpetrated. Those who harbour or shield from detection such criminals will now have to pay the penalty. The measure will further supply the means of summary trial and punishment without jury for offences under the Act—a proposal which, however necessary, can hardly be regarded as "insignificant." Under this provision, Barrett would have had no chance of escape from conviction by the disagreement of a jury. Lastly, general powers will be given to the Government to deal with offences against public order committed by the Press, so that the Executive will be able promptly to stem the tide of sedition which has been swollen, if not created, by Fenian newspaper writers.

These demands upon Parliament are, in our opinion, so large that they ought only to be conceded in a critical state of affairs, and only placed in the hands of a Government whose attachment to the liberty of the subject is above suspicion. They are intended for a specific cure for certain criminal manifestations; and we firmly believe that they will be signally effectual even more in preventing than punishing outrage, in re-asserting the supremacy of the law, and in closing the floodgates of seditious excitement. The repressive measures indicated by the Government are precisely those which are called for by the grand juries, and suggested by the judges of assize, who are best qualified to decide what is most effectual for the purpose for overcoming the lawless spirit that prevails in Ireland. They will follow upon the second reading, and virtual acceptance by the House of Commons, of the Irish Land Bill, which provides security of tenure to the occupier of the soil, and guards against cruel evictions. Thus the redress of grievances and the vindication of the law will go hand in hand, and as the result we venture to predict that in a few months Ireland will be quiet and contented, or at least that the reign of terrorism will have entirely ceased.

OUR DEFENSIVE ARMAMENTS.

BEFORE the military and naval estimates for the year are passed, it may be well to take another glance at our means of national defence, more especially as it is manifest that in any further measures of retrenchment which the Government may hereafter contemplate, they will meet with a more determined resistance than heretofore. The economies effected by Mr. Childers and Mr. Cardwell—though not of the magnitude that might be expected from a reforming administration—have excited much bitter feeling in the upper ranks of society; and it is evident from what was said at the great City banquet last Wednesday, that the Conservatives—a party floundering about for a tangible policy—are prepared to take advantage of it. "The Officers of the Army," remarked Sir John Pakington, "are now deeply discontented with that which they believe to be injustice towards them." "I think the extraordinary fact that in the short fifteen months since the late Government left office the strength of the British Army has been reduced by no less than 24,000 men is one deserving of the most serious consideration of Parliament and the public. So long as all goes happily and smoothly, no doubt we shall do well, and so we might without any Army at all; but if emergencies arise, if the hour of danger comes, I think we shall have to encounter embarrassment and difficulty, and Her Majesty's Government will find that it is easier to get rid of the Army than to re-embodiment it." Sir Edward Belcher, who followed, spoke in the

same strain. "In the Navy," he said, "politics were supposed to be unknown, but when Sir John Pakington left office, all in the profession, from the admiral down to the seaman, felt they had lost a very good friend." "He was present last night at a large meeting of his brother officers, and they all agreed that the Service was going to the bad." These complaints are ominous because, we may suppose, they reflect the current feeling among the two Services, which Services are omnipotent in high life, and possess great influence in Parliament. Very few remarks are needed to show how entirely unreasonable, not to say preposterous they are.

We have now the most powerful and efficient fleet ever known—a fleet which in armament and numerical force would overmatch the combined forces of France and America on the ocean. This has been the result not of lavish outlay but of good management. If the profession are not content, they need to be reminded that our Navy is not maintained for their advantage, but for the defence of the country. The people of England have the best reason to be satisfied with an economical policy, which, while obtaining a naval armament more than adequate for any possible emergency, has saved their pockets, and will resent these attacks upon an Admiralty which has put a stop to lavish and corrupt expenditure. We now know, in a practical shape, that retrenchment is conducive to efficiency, and that the sums which went to support sinecures and all kinds of jobbery in the Navy will be returned to the tax-payer by the agency of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Sir John Pakington affects to be panic-stricken because 24,000 men have been lopped off from our military forces. These are the troops which have returned from the colonies, in consequence of their acceptance of the principle that self-government and self-defence should go hand-in-hand. Though we have at home a regular army of 86,225 men, and reserves and volunteers, which make an aggregate defensive force 354,202—numerically larger than has been known for a generation past—Sir John is dissatisfied. He denounces reduction as dangerous to the national safety, and his Conservative friends echo his sentiment. Now, it is to be observed that in 1848 we were content with a home army of 5,000 men of all arms, nor did we feel insecure till the Duke of Wellington raised the alarm, and till the absurd panic in relation to France created a perfect furor for national defence, which has lasted to the present time. Lord Palmerston armed England to the teeth, and we are not less, though more economically, armed now. Nevertheless, no occasion has arisen to employ our armaments. Great wars have raged on the Continent, but England has held aloof, and we have gradually settled down to the acceptance of the non-intervention principle.

We have thus entirely changed our foreign as well as our colonial policy. In the one case, we have derived substantial benefit from the change; in the other none at all. The question of the future in relation to our armaments is the converse of that presented by Sir John Pakington. With our present non-intervention tendencies, what are the "emergencies" that can arise which require us to be armed to the teeth? We may need to be well protected from attack, but is not this mainly the mission of our powerful navy? But if we are now restricting ourselves to national defence—if we are going to interfere nowhere—what reasonable necessity can there be for a costly regular force, which, with reserves, is some 120,000 strong, scattered over the United Kingdom, impoverishing the labour market, eating the bread of idleness, spreading demoralisation in its track, and taxing the over-burdened resources of the people? When pauperism is flooding the land, the poor-rates rising—when statesmen and philanthropists are alike perplexed, and a few millions, more or less, of taxation, make all the difference in the race of industrial competition with other nations—it is time we began to examine this question of armaments anew in the light of common sense, rather than of obsolete alarms, and the vested interests of an overgrown profession.

This is the proper and reasonable reply to Sir John Pakington's absurd and martinet complaints. Let our armaments conform to our policy. When the great civil war was fairly over, our American cousins, without having as we have, volunteer corps to fall back upon, disbanded their huge forces, and are now content with some 40,000 regular troops. We have as little fear of aggression or foreign complications as they have, and can afford without peril to follow their example. The question is one rather for the people than the Government. Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet deserves every praise for what it has already done in the way of economy

—for its savings in the navy, and its reductions in the army. But still the army estimates amount to the enormous sum of nearly thirteen millions, and further retrenchment will no doubt be vigorously resisted. We confidently believe that four or five millions further might be saved without impairing our means of adequate defence. By developing to a greater extent the plans of army reform already originated, and by carrying out more fully the scheme of a reserve force sketched out by Mr. Cardwell, we should have abundant resources for "emergencies," even if 20,000 or 30,000 more of our regulars were disbanded. We are probably about to expend a large sum—possibly two millions—in extending education. The people would bear this added burden all the more cheerfully if it were saved to them by the reduction of armaments out of all proportion to reasonable wants, while the morality and intelligence of the country would infinitely gain by the transfer.

THE EMIGRATION MOVEMENT.

THE marked disinclination on the part of the Government to entertain the question of State aid to emigration, together with the gradual but decided improvement observable in commercial and industrial affairs generally, seems to have materially influenced the popular feeling in favour of emigration as a remedy for the existing deficiency of employment in this country. The classes most desirous of emigrating are beginning to perceive that if they are to realise their wishes, they must take the matter into their own hands, and trust to their own exertions for success. Hence we have of late heard considerably less of meetings in favour of the doctrine of State aid; but, at the same time, emigration schemes of a really practical character have not been slow in making their appearance before the public. Necessity is said to be the mother of invention, and the axiom evidently holds good in the case of emigration. The well-known laws of demand and supply are regulating the progress and direction of emigration, in the same manner that they influence the number of workers and the rates of wages. In those countries where the demand for labour is greatest, the most powerful and systematic efforts are being made to induce a fair supply. Australia, Canada, and the United States, to say nothing of South America, are eagerly competing for the possession of our alleged surplus labour supply. The real difficulty arises from the comparative scarcity of suitable people. Poverty, pure and simple, is not—we are very properly reminded—the only qualification absolutely requisite to ensure the success of an emigrant. The mere fact of a man's being out of work does not afford a reason why he should be persuaded to emigrate to another country. Were it otherwise, did poverty form the principal recommendation of an emigrant, the solution of the emigration difficulty would be comparatively easy. All we should have to do would be to ship off a few thousands of paupers, and the whole thing would be settled. The colonies would become the receptacles of the very class of population, least required by us, while we should be relieved of the heavy burden of their support.

Unfortunately the colonies require the particular descriptions of labour we are most anxious to retain at home. They have had enough of mere pauperism. They want the sturdy, self-reliant, industrious, and skilful labourer; not the hangers-on of night refuges and casual wards. So deep and strong is the pauper taint when once acquired, that it can seldom become effaced even in a new country; and of one batch sent to Canada it was said, that "wherever they went, sin, shame, and death were on their track." Their pauper training had totally unfitted them for a career which, to end successfully, requires to be pursued with steadiness, perseverance, and self-denial. In their eagerness to obtain the necessary supply of really useful labour, both the colonies and the United States seem disposed to furnish the machinery which the English Government have been so energetically asked to provide. "Already," as a competent writer observes, "the unofficial public, as represented by the money-saving working man, has indicated by its emigration-tending action, the good that can be effected by itself when untrammelled by the consequences of being cared for and helped out of the public funds." In a previous article we have indicated the extent to which, in our opinion, State assistance should be provided, namely, the furnishing of reliable information to those desirous of obtaining it, and the protection of intending emigrants at British seaports and on board emigrant vessels. To some extent, this is being done already, but not, perhaps, to the desired extent. For instance, the information contained in the *Colonisation Circular*, annually published by the Emigration Commissioners,

must be largely popularised before it can circulate properly among the classes from whose ranks the great body of emigrants is continually being recruited. The work of selection must be left to the parties most directly interested. It has been said that the Government might provide ships for the conveyance of emigrants to the colonies, but where the would-be colonists are of the right description, this kind of State assistance becomes unnecessary, because several of the colonies are themselves willing to defray the cost of the passage to their shores. Where the emigrants are of the description least desired by the colonies, their shipment in British war vessels to colonial shores might be regarded as an insult by the colonists, and possibly lead to a quarrel between them and the mother country.

There is also another essential feature of successful emigration. To a given amount of labour, there must also be a certain amount of capital. To send a number of people to a new country without the means of employment, or of subsistence until employment is obtained, is simply to doom them to the miseries of starvation and death. There must be means as well as willingness to work. There we have the key to the working of a successful and efficient system of emigration. It is not to state assistance that we should look for the machinery of emigration, but rather to the spirit of commercial enterprise. It has been asserted that the whole cost of emigration might be defrayed without asking the Mother Country or the colonies to contribute a farthing of the money. All that is required of the colonies is that they shall grant certain proportions of land for every specified number of suitable families landed on their shores. The process of colonisation has a tendency to attach an intrinsic and marketable value to land formerly deemed worthless. The more extensively the process of colonisation is carried on, the greater becomes the marketable value of the lands so colonised. A very large proportion of the revenue enjoyed by colonial governments is derived from the sale of reserved township and other land, the value of which has been literally created by the settlement of people round about. Hence the strenuous endeavours by the Governments of Canada, Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania, and other colonies, to say nothing of the inhabitants of Kansas, Virginia, Louisiana, and other American States, to induce the stream of emigration to flow in their direction. There is scarcely a city or town in the kingdom in which American, Canadian, or Australian agents are not to be found, and it was only the other day that a new association, the Colonists' and Emigrants' Aid Corporation, issued proposals for advancing to selected emigrants moneys, not only for passage, but for the purchase of necessities requisite to give the emigrant a fair start in life, the association depending for repayment upon the value given to the land by settlement.

Here we have the practical solution of the emigration difficulty, so far as it is capable of solution with respect to the mass of working men. But we must not forget that its tendency is to thin the overcrowded ranks, not to lessen the number of paupers. The increase of pauperism is due to other causes besides want of work, and we must seek to remove these, before we can expect our workhouses to become empty, and our factories and workshops to spring into full activity. We must not only counteract effects, but also do away with causes. The current of recent social and political legislation has set in this direction, and the object of our statesmen now seems to be to induce people to remain in this country, rather than to render them anxious to quit it. Good laws will achieve more in this way than aught else, and good laws we are beginning to have. Perhaps it is to this fact that we may attribute the comparative indifference of the working population with respect to the emigration question. They do not wish to leave this country if they can possibly help it. They regard it as a kind of transportation, a species of punishment inflicted for the crime of poverty. Of course, we speak in a general sense. The prevailing impression seems to be that with the completion of the numerous social and political reforms now in progress, emigration will cease to be a necessity, perhaps so. But [with the diminished pressure of surplus labour in the market, will the emigration machinery become rusty from disuse? We think not. On the contrary, we believe it will be found more manageable and efficient by being compressed into narrower and more workable channels.

THOMAS CARLYLE'S CREED.—A correspondence has for some time been carried forward, in the *South Durham Mercury*, as to whether Mr. Carlyle is a Pantheist? Mr. J. G. Douglas, of Hartlepool, having in a private letter called the attention of Mr. Carlyle to the public correspondence referred to, put the question point blank, "Are you a Pantheist?" Mr. Carlyle answered in a note, "No, never was; nor a Pot-theist either. For the rest, never mind these poor people. So far as they don't mean well, the damage is all their own.—T. C., 7th March, 1870."

THE GOVERNMENT EDUCATION BILL.

NATIONAL LEAGUE DEPUTATION TO THE PREMIER.

On Wednesday afternoon a deputation of the National Education League, consisting of the central executive committee, members of Parliament, &c., waited upon the Premier at his official residence, Downing-street, to urge upon Her Majesty's Government the importance of making certain alterations in the Government Bill to render the measure acceptable to the advocates of a national system of education. The deputation consisted of nearly 400 delegates from the various branches of the League. Among the members of Parliament present were the following:—Mr. Armistead, Mr. Cohen, Mr. Dalrymple, Sir C. W. Dilke, Mr. Dixon, Mr. Eykyn, Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Vernon Harcourt, the Hon. A. Herbert, Sir H. A. Hoare, Mr. Howard, Mr. Illingworth, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Kirk, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Lush, Mr. Melly, Mr. Miall, Mr. Jones-Parry, Mr. Potter, Mr. Rylands, Mr. B. Samuelson, Mr. H. Samuelson, Mr. Serjeant Simon, Mr. Sartoris, Mr. Sherrieff, Colonel Stepney, Colonel Sykes, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Wedderburn. Delegates also attended from the following branches:—London: Bloomsbury, Camden, Chelsea, Deptford, Greenwich, Hackney, Kensington, Lambeth, Marylebone, North London, Peckham, Westminster, West Ham, Woolwich, Plumstead, and Charlton; Bath, Banbury, Bedford, Belper, Birkenhead, Birmingham, Bolton, Bradford, Brighton, Bristol, Bromsgrove, Burslem, Canterbury, Carlisle, Carmarthen, Chesham, Chester, Coventry, Darwen, Derby, Devonport, Dewsbury, Dukinfield, Dudley, Edgbaston, Falmouth, Ipswich, Kendal, Halifax, Handsworth, Harborne, Hastings, Hinckley, Huddersfield, Huntingdon, Hyde, Hereford, Leeds, Leicester, Lichfield, Liverpool, Manchester, Middlesborough, Newcastle, Newport (Isle of Wight), Northampton, Nottingham, Oldbury, Oxford, Peterborough, Plymouth, Reading, Rochester, Salisbury, Sheffield, Shrewsbury, Southampton, South Shields, Stafford, Stockport, Stourbridge, Tipton, Tynemouth, Walsall, Warrington, West Bromwich, West Kent, Winchfield, Wolverhampton, Worcester, and Windsor.

Long before the hour appointed for the interview the room was filled to overflowing by gentlemen from every part of the country, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the representatives of the Press could find even standing room for the discharge of their duties.

Mr. Gladstone was received with cheers on making his appearance, accompanied by Earl de Grey and Mr. Forster, the President and Vice-President of the Privy Council.

Mr. GEORGE DIXON, M.P., having introduced the deputation, Mr. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN made a lengthy statement regarding the views of the League, urging the importance of compulsory education and the cancelling of the Conscience Clause in the Government Bill. Sir C. W. Dilke, Bart., Mr. A. J. Mundella, Mr. Robert Applegarth, the Rev. S. A. Steinthal, of Manchester; Mr. Alfred Illingworth, the Rev. F. Barnham Tink, and the Rev. Charles Vince, of Birmingham, having given expression to the views of the deputation,

Mr. GLADSTONE said that on behalf of himself and his colleagues, Lord de Grey and Mr. Forster, he wished in the first place to say that they had great pleasure in receiving from so many sources, from so many gentlemen of so much weight and ability, and varying so much in colour on many matters, the expression of their views. They were too much aware of the gravity of the question at issue and the necessity of mature consideration on the part of the Government for them to expect him to say more on the present occasion than that the Government would take the expression of their views into the the most careful consideration. He believed that he understood the nature of their views. Nothing could be clearer than that the deputation had great objections to several parts of the bill. He had at the same time listened with great comfort and satisfaction, not only to the generous expression of good will to the Government, but of approval so far as to be far beyond their deserts. (No, no.) But what he gathered to be the effect of Mr. Chamberlain's statement was, that on other matters, outside the limits of the objections, the bill might be regarded as approved. (Hear, hear.) That avowal, on the one side, coupled with the frank statement of the objections and difficulties on the part of the deputation, afforded a basis—and he hoped by their united efforts, their support, consultation, and frankness on all questions, they might be able to work out a satisfactory result, of which he could not point out the details, because they knew that for some weeks to come the Government had other and important work on hand. (Hear, hear.) With regard to their particular views, special objections, and the points raised, there were two upon which he did not distinctly understand them. He was not sure that he quite comprehended the manner in which they proposed to deal with existing schools. They had said that they did not approve of the conscience clause in the bill—(Hear, hear)—not so much because of its form, but because they mistrusted and repudiated anything whatever in the shape of a conscience clause. (Hear, hear.) If so, was he to understand that in dealing with existing schools, those schools were to receive no aid from rates except on the terms of conforming to the basis they would lay down, so that all schools aided by rates should be one and uniform?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said the prevailing sentiment as to the existing schools was that there should be a separate religious teaching as the condition of a public grant proposed by the bill to make to them, and that the new schools should be entirely unsectarian.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Then the existing schools might differ from the new schools in respect of having religious teaching—such teaching to be confined to particular and specified hours. (Hear, hear.) Then as to the power of the local boards. If any objection had been taken to the bill more than another, it was as to the amount and nature of the power to be entrusted to the local boards, but he had not gathered clearly what substitute they would suggest for these boards. The principle, as he understood it, was that education should be free and gratuitous—(Hear, hear)—and as to the compulsory principle he did not understand that there was any difference of opinion. ("None.") But as to the power of the local boards with regard to religion, where would they draw the line between the school that was secular and the school to which they would object on the ground of its being now what was termed sectarian? Would anything in the name of religion be permissive in their schools or not? It had been stated that that was the view of the League, that the Holy Scriptures might be read in schools, provided they were not explained. (No, no.) Well, then, they might go back to the old story of the three courses. First, the Holy Scriptures might be read and explained; second, they might be read and not explained; and, third, that there should be simply secular instruction without any reading of the Holy Scriptures. (Hear, hear.) He did not know whether any gentleman was authorised to speak on those points in the name of the League. He assumed they excluded denominational instruction—(Hear, hear)—but as to these three points he should be glad to know if the League had an article in its creed—if he might so speak—on that subject.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said that in the draft of the bill prepared by the League there was a clause providing that in the national schools no creed, catechism, nor tenet peculiar to any sect should be taught, but that the school board might allow the use of the schoolroom for religious teaching out of school hours, provided no preference was given to one sect more than another, and the Scriptures might be read in the schools if no parent or guardian objected. This, though adopted by the Executive Committee in the first instance, had not been agreed to by the League generally, and there was a strong feeling in favour of secular instruction only in the national schools. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. GLADSTONE: If that clause were acted upon, there must be something of a conscience clause.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: It would be what was called a limitable conscience clause, whose version of the Scriptures differed from that of the Protestants.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Then, as to the power of the local boards, to allow the use of the schools and school-houses for religious teaching. Did they not expect that it would produce the same element of religious difference in the vestry which had been so eloquently described by Mr. Vince?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: We don't think so, because it is provided that no undue preference shall be given.

Mr. GLADSTONE: Still, there might be a preference on the conditions of time, for they knew that in many districts what would be convenient to some might be most inconvenient to others, who wished to have religious instruction, and they would apprehend danger from that course.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: It was apprehended, and many members of the League thought it would be better not to give the power to the local boards. (Hear.)

Mr. GLADSTONE did not know whether his colleagues had any question to put or remarks to make; if not, he could only again assure the deputation that their representations should have full and careful consideration.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, on the part of the League and the deputation, thanked the right hon. gentleman and his colleagues for their courtesy and patient attention to the views which had been laid before them, amidst cheers, and the deputation then withdrew.

As soon as the above deputation had left Mr. Gladstone's official residence, Messrs. Gladstone and Forster and Earl de Grey received a large and influential deputation from the Welsh Educational Conference. Mr. Henry Richard, Mr. E. M. Richards, and other Welsh members of Parliament, accompanied the deputation, and Dr. Edwards, of Bala, Dr. Rees, of Llanelli, and other gentlemen, addressed the Premier and his colleagues. They represented that the Nonconformists of Wales formed seven-eighths of the population, and that the bill had been received all over the Principality with joy by the one-eighth, who were generally opponents of the Government, and with consternation by the seven-eighths, who had earnestly supported the Government at the elections. Some conversation ensued between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Forster and the deputation, and it was clearly elicited that the Nonconformists of Wales are anxious that the school boards should be elected by the ratepayers by ballot, and the schools supported by rates should be entirely unsectarian. The objections to the conscience clause were most emphatic, and in other respects the deputation endorsed the objections of the League.

DEPUTATION FROM THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION.

On Friday afternoon a deputation from the Congregational Union of England and Wales, consisting of Mr. S. Morley, M.P., Mr. Winterbotham, M.P., Mr. Richard, M.P., Mr. J. Spicer, Mr. H. Wright, Rev. Dr. Raleigh, Rev. E. White, Rev. J. G. Rogers, Rev. A. Hannay, and Rev. A. Mackennal, had an

interview with the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., Vice-President of the Privy Council, respecting the clause in the Government Education Bill which proposes to deal with religious teaching. Their views were expressed in the following resolutions, passed by a committee of the Congregational Union, which were handed to the right honourable gentleman:—"That this committee strongly deprecates the extension of the denominational system, believing that national schools ought to be entirely free from sectarian control and sectarian teaching. They therefore object to the provision in the bill by which the interval of a year is allowed the various denominations in which to provide free schools, but still more strongly do they protest against the power given to local boards to establish new denominational schools, or to take under their management and support those at present in existence. 1. Because of the opening thus afforded for the introduction of religious strife in the various boroughs and parishes in the kingdom. 2. Because of the sanction thus given to the principle of concurrent endowment. 3. Because the action of the compulsory clause will thus be greatly complicated, and under its operation children will, in many cases, be forced into schools of sects to which their parents are opposed, and whose influence over them they regard with anxiety and apprehension. They object to the conscience clause, believing that it will be practically unworkable."

Several members of the deputation addressed the Vice-President in support of this statement, and it was represented that their views were shared by the Baptists and other Nonconformist unions. A large number of Dissenters were in favour of strictly secular education; but as all did not agree in this, it was thought the difficulty would be met by the master of the school being allowed to read the Scriptures, but prohibited from teaching the dogmas of Christianity. All the members admitted that the question was a very difficult one to deal with, and desired Mr. Forster distinctly to understand that they did not take this course in a feeling of opposition to the Government, but with a desire to see the bill made acceptable to the Nonconformist body. A conversation of some length ensued, and a variety of questions were asked by Mr. Forster, who expressed himself to be most anxious to ascertain the various opinions held with respect to the bill, and particularly so from such an influential body as that which was represented. He referred to the difficulties which the framers of the measure had to encounter, and assured the deputation that the views they had laid before him should be duly reported to his colleagues, who would give them their most serious consideration.

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL UNION DEPUTATION.

On Friday a deputation from the National Educational Union waited upon the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, Earl de Grey, and the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, at the official residence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Downing-street. Among those forming the deputation were the Right Hon. the Earl of Harrowby, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and some sixty M.P.'s, of whom forty-five were Conservatives. The Liberal members included the Right Hon. W. F. Cowper-Temple, Mr. E. Baines, Mr. W. M'C. Torrens, Mr. T. Chambers, Mr. O. Buxton, Colonel Akroyd, Mr. Pease, and Lord Enfield. Their opinions were expressed in the following resolutions which had been adopted by the General Executive Committee:—"1. The bill of the Government deserves support, inasmuch as it aims at supplying the needs of elementary education without prohibiting religious instruction, without superseding parental responsibility, and without extinguishing the schools which owe their existence to the costly and persevering labours of the best friends of the education of the people. 2. It is defective in not adopting that indirect mode of compulsion which consists in requiring education as a condition of the hired employment of children, which had been successfully applied through the Factory Acts, and has been more recently adopted in the Workshops' Regulation Act. 3. Compulsory attendance at suitable schools may be rightly enforced on vagrant children, and on those whose parents are receiving parochial relief, or are unable to pay the school fees.

Mr. COWPER-TEMPLE introduced the deputation, and the Rev. Dr. BARRY contended in favour of the liberty of including as well as excluding religion.

The Rev. E. R. CONDER, M.A., said he was the representative of a minority in the body to which he belonged. It was perfectly useless to deny the fact that among the Independents and Baptists, as well as among the Methodist brethren, there was an exceeding feeling of alarm and anxiety lest the reform about to be effected in education should be the means of rekindling religious strife which recent legislation had put an end to. It appeared to him that it was possible to reconcile the rights of conscience with the maintenance of religious freedom on both sides.

Mr. E. BAINES, M.P., concurred with the gentlemen who had preceded him in the views they had taken—first, in demanding the right of religious instruction in their day-schools; and, secondly, in demanding the rights of conscience—that no person should be compelled to have his children taught that to which he conscientiously objected. With that they also expressed the opinion that there were some few details that might deserve to be looked at again. He was convinced the object of the Government had been not to interfere but to maintain those great schools which had existed so many years and done so much good. Government, he hoped, would not allow them to be disturbed or undermined; but on the other hand, put no constraint upon the conscience of any living man, and give to all schools grants only for the secular branch of education. As a

Dissenter he had much pleasure in bearing testimony to the very high merits, and the great claims of the members of the Church of England, who had built up so many important schools. He would a thousand times rather that his child should receive a religious education in a Church school, than a merely secular instruction in a State school. They did not like direct compulsion, but they did wish to have carried out the infinitely easier and better mode, that indirect compulsion which had been adopted by the Legislature of England with success in other ways, and which could be adopted and applied to all kinds of industries. Abundant testimony had been borne to the fact that children could combine education and work, and it would be far better to adopt a system of that kind than to enforce attendance. He should give his most hearty support to the measure of Her Majesty's Government. (Hear, hear.)

Colonel Akroyd, M.P., the Earl of Harrowby, and Mr. A. Poll, M.P., also expressed their views.

Mr. GLADSTONE replied to the representations of the deputation in a very few words. He said the question of how far education was a legitimate burden on the rates must be treated by them as separate from the question out of what property ought the funds to be supplied—he meant the money which constituted the legitimate source of local expenditure. With regard to the bill, he was very much obliged to them for the views they had been pleased to express, and which he took to be simply represented in the words which had been used by Lord Harrowby, "that religion was not to be compulsorily separated from education." (Hear, hear.) That he presumed to be the main principle. ("Yes.") With regard to the mode of applying those principles, they must, of course, involve much difficulty in detail. It would probably be prejudicial and injurious to make any premature disclosure. The Government would give the matter their best consideration. When they discussed the bill in Committee, they would be able to grapple with these difficulties. He hoped the result would be one in which they could all to a great extent concur, and that then the measure would give general satisfaction.

Mr. COWPER-TEMPLE, M.P., having thanked the right hon. gentleman for granting the interview, the deputation retired.

MEETINGS AGAINST THE BILL.

The Government Education Bill was considered at a town's meeting held in Leeds on Saturday night. In consequence of the Victoria Hall being otherwise engaged, the gathering took place in the Civil Court Room, which was crowded. A motion of a comprehensive character, embodying various objections to the bill, and maintaining, amongst other things, that the measure should be so amended in committee as to secure "a free secular education for every English child," was moved by Mr. E. BUTLER, seconded by the Rev. W. THOMAS, and supported by Mr. Alderman CARTER, M.P. The Rev. A. H. KELK submitted an amendment, expressing approval of the provision made in the bill for religious teaching, but, on the vote being taken, the original motion was carried by a large majority. A petition to the House of Commons, embodying the decision of the meeting, was adopted.

A conference of the united Nonconformist bodies of Southampton was held at the Above Bar Chapel last week, Mr. W. Lankester, J.P., in the chair, when the following resolution was moved by the Rev. H. H. Carlisle, seconded by Mr. W. C. Westlake, and carried unanimously:—"That this meeting, representing various Nonconformist bodies, strongly protests against the proposal of the Government Education Bill to give to local boards unrestricted power to determine the religious character of schools to be aided and supported by local rates. This proposal is a practical adoption of the unjust and irreligious principle of concurrent endowment; it establishes a new form of religious taxation not less objectionable than Church-rates, rendering the minority in every district liable to the payment of a rate for the support of whatever form of religious teaching the majority may approve, and thus giving occasion to sectarian conflicts which will be most injurious to the social harmony and religious well-being of the community. That this meeting further objects to that clause in the bill which permits Her Majesty's Inspectors to require into the religious instruction given in schools; and also to the power conferred upon local boards to enforce the attendance of children at denominational schools, under a conscience clause of a wholly unsatisfactory kind." It was also resolved unanimously, on the motion of the Rev. J. Collins, seconded by the Rev. E. Kell:—"That in all schools established or supported by local rates the instruction should be absolutely unsectarian; and that in all denominational schools aided by Government grants, the sectarian instruction should be given before or after the ordinary school work, and provision be made that attendance at such religious teaching should not be compulsory, and that there should be no disability for non-attendance." Petitions to Parliament against the portions of the Government Bill referred to in the two resolutions were adopted.

On Friday a meeting of Nonconformist ministers and laymen was held in Newcastle-on-Tyne, Mr. Bradburn in the chair, to take into consideration the Government Education Bill. There was a good attendance of ministers, and much discussion. The following resolutions were agreed to:—"That this conference acknowledges gratefully the effort made by Her Majesty's Government to extend elementary education to every child in the kingdom, but regrets deeply that, according to Mr. Forster's bill,—1, school boards are not to be elected immediately, and in all districts of the country; 2, that it is to be left to school boards to settle whether education shall

be compulsory or not; 3, that in all districts school boards are not to be elected directly and uniformly by the ratepayers, and that by ballot; 4, that it is to be left to school boards to say whether new schools shall be denominational or not, and if so, of what denomination, and to determine to give aid to existing denominational schools, they remaining under the present management; 5, that children and parents are to be protected by a conscience clause, which will be invidious, practically useless, and therefore a delusion and a snare. And further believes that the State ought not to make provision out of the rates and taxes for any teaching of religion."

A meeting of the leading Liberals and representatives of various Nonconformist Churches of Gravesend was held in the Lecture-room, Princes-street, on Monday evening, the Rev. Wm. Guest in the chair. The following resolution, proposed by Mr. Tulk, secretary of the Liberal Association, and seconded by Mr. Jonathan Elkin, J.P., was carried unanimously. "This meeting, while grateful that the attention of Her Majesty's Ministers has been directed to the question of providing an adequate scheme of national elementary instruction, deeply regrets that the bill proposed by the Government will, instead of obviating the evils of what has been termed the 'religious difficulty,' in many districts seriously intensify them. This meeting holds it to be a fundamental requirement of any measure of national education, that no sectarian or denominational tenets shall be taught in any school supported by local rates. It holds it to be a truth which public opinion has converted into an axiom, that while it is the duty of a State to adopt, where the necessity exists, means which shall attempt to make children good citizens, it is not the duty of a State to foster the idea that any Church, be it Roman Catholic or Protestant, Conformist or Non-conformist, is invested with the prerogative of educating the people."

The Education Bill was severely handled at Liverpool on Tuesday by the United Presbyterian Presbytery at their annual meeting, and by a conference of Protestant Nonconformists, held in the Law Association Rooms. The former body resolved to petition the House of Commons to amend various clauses, which, if passed unamended, will seriously interfere with the religious liberty of the people; while at the conference Mr. J. J. Stitt, who was in the chair, argued that the clauses relating to religious instruction were calculated to shirk and not meet difficulties, to settle nothing and unsettle everything, and even to revive religious animosities.

The General Baptist Midland Conference, which met at Ripley, in the county of Derby, on Tuesday, March 8th, 1870, representing sixty-three churches in the midland counties, with an aggregate membership of 8,867, resolved to forward a petition to the House of Commons, to be presented by the Hon. Auberon Herbert, M.P., showing that while viewing with satisfaction the introduction of the bill and approving many of the provisions, yet—(1) No measure would be satisfactory which provides for the extension of the present system of denominational instruction by public funds or local rates; (2) That the powers conferred by the bill upon district boards to determine what religious instruction shall or shall not be given in the schools are highly objectionable; (3) That instead of the district boards being elected by parish vestries and town councils, they should be elected by direct vote of the ratepayers to be taken by the ballot. Signed by Robert Argile, Ripley, chairman, and Charles Clarke, B.A., Ashby-de-la-Zouch, secretary.

At a large meeting held in the Corn Exchange, Bromsgrove, on Wednesday night, to consider the Government Education Bill, Mr. Arthur Ryland presiding, resolutions were passed affirming that no scheme of education can be national which does not involve free admission, compulsory attendance, and unsectarian teaching; and that sectarian teaching by the State is the main obstacle to education and religious freedom. The League amendments to the Government Education Bill were generally approved.

On Wednesday night the National League held one of the largest public meetings ever assembled in Nottingham to consider the Government Education Bill. Mr. O. Paget, formerly member for the borough, was chairman. The Rev. Mr. Matheson moved, and Mr. Ellis seconded, a resolution in favour of education being completely unsectarian, compulsory, and free. The Hon. Auberon Herbert, M.P., for Nottingham, supported the resolution.

A largely-attended meeting was held in St. Mary's Schoolroom, Norwich, on Wednesday night, when the provisions of the bill were explained. The modifications deemed by the meeting desirable were to the following effect:—That all education dependent in any degree upon local rates should be free and unsectarian; that compulsory attendance at school should either be universally enforced or should not be insisted on; that the appointment of school boards should be vested in the ratepayers. A petition to this effect was adopted.

A meeting of the National Education League, at the Manchester Town Hall, on Thursday night, to petition Parliament with a view of getting Mr. Forster's bill amended, was upset by an organised band of men, whose only object appeared to be to prevent the speakers being heard. The chairman, Alderman Rumney, declined to call for the police. The second speaker having appealed to the men in vain, the chairman declared the meeting dissolved. After this the opposition sang "Rule Britannia," and manifested great satisfaction.

On Thursday, 10th inst., a large and influential conference of the representatives of various Nonconformist bodies in West Somerset, was held in Paul's Meeting, Taunton, to consider the Government

Education Bill, the Rev. W. Young, B.A., in the chair. The chairman called on the Rev. G. W. Humphreys, of Wellington, to give an outline of the bill, and to state what were the objectionable features of the measure. A long and animated discussion followed, in which the Rev. W. H. Griffith, B.A., of the Independent College; Joseph Wilshire, E. Bates, Bishop's Hull; G. W. Roughton, of Watchet; with Messrs. E. Rossiter, Samuel Pollard, John Thorne, and Walter Maynard, took part. On the proposal of the Rev. G. W. Humphreys, a series of resolutions was passed condemnatory of the way in which the religious question is dealt with in the bill. It was determined to send petitions from all congregations in the district, and to forward copies of the resolutions to Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Forster, and the local members of Parliament.

The amendments to be proposed in the House of Commons this evening on behalf of the National Education League received the support of a large meeting of the inhabitants of Halifax, convened by the Mayor, and held on Saturday evening. The requisition was signed by upwards of 500 of the leading ratepayers. The chair was occupied by Mr. Alderman Hutchinson, J.P. A resolution proposed by Mr. Constantine, a prominent member of the trade unions of the district, seconded by Mr. Councillor Wayman, and supported by Mr. Lloyd-Jones, a deputation from the League, was passed, declaring in effect that the education imparted in schools receiving Government aid should be compulsory and free; that the religious education should be given either before or after school hours, if given at all, and approving generally of the machinery of school boards proposed by the Government. A second resolution, moved by Mr. John Scarborough, and seconded by Mr. John Snowden, affirmed that in districts not within boroughs the school boards should be elected by the ratepayers direct and by ballot, and that there should be no interval of twelve months as contemplated by the bill. There was some opposition offered by representatives of the Education Union, but it was not successful.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The *Weekly Register* states that the English Catholic Bishops, now all save two in Rome, met together at the English College in that city on the 28th ult., to consider the best steps to be taken with regard to Mr. Forster's Education Bill. The Archbishop presided, and the meeting continued discussing the measure for nearly three hours.

We understand that the Rev. Dr. Jobson, President of the Conference, is summoning the United Committees appointed to consider the question of primary education to meet at the beginning of April, so that the judgment of the Committee may be had before the Government Bill passes into Committee, and when amendments, as desired, may be proposed to advantage.—*Watchman*.

The Liverpool Town Council held a special meeting on Saturday to discuss the educational question. A special committee, who had examined the bill, reported that the system of rating proposed by the bill would, if enacted, operate unfairly and oppressively in all large towns, and in an especial degree in the town of Liverpool, to which a large proportion of indigent and destitute population is attracted; that the duty of providing elementary education for the children of those who are unable, unaided, to supply it, should be undertaken as a national obligation; and they had, therefore, come to the conclusion that it should be urged upon Parliament "to make the taxation Imperial, and the education compulsory throughout the country." After a long discussion the report was approved without alteration. A petition to Parliament embodying the report was also adopted.

Foreign and Colonial.

FRANCE.

Last Wednesday's sitting of the French Chamber is likely to become celebrated in history. An order of the day on the subject of Algeria, signed by members of all parties, from the extreme Right to the "Irreconcilables," was carried unanimously, and a radical reform in the Government of the colony may fairly be anticipated. M. Ollivier, in the course of the debate, admitted that by the existing constitution the Senate had a number of exclusive prerogatives, three-fourths of which at least ought to be suppressed. He promised that Algeria should have three representatives in the Chamber, as asked by M. Jules Favre; and gave such satisfaction to the Left, that their support may now be said to be ensured to the Ministry as long as it maintains a Liberal course. In consequence of this vote, Marshal MacMahon, the Governor-General of the colony, is said to have tendered his resignation.

On Friday, complaint was made of the difficulty experienced by such members as were obliged to serve on several committees. The President said that it was owing to the great number of public sittings of the House. Ultimately, at the request of M. Ollivier, it was resolved that the Chamber should adjourn until the 21st inst., in order to allow the business in the committees to advance more rapidly.

The Great Left-Centre banquet took place one day last week, and nothing appears to have disturbed the harmony of the meeting. Seven Ministers sat down to table, and when the cloth was removed, the Marquis d'Andelarre proposed the health of the Emperor and the rest of the Imperial family, throwing in the Cabinet of the 2nd of January, and the union of the friends of liberty and the Constitutional Empire. The Keeper of the Seals rose to return

thanks, and called upon all present to drink to the union of the two Centre parties. He said that the force of the Government lay in the fact that it was not the child of hazard, but the result of a powerful effort of the country and the will of the Chamber. By all accounts, M. Ollivier, who begged the assembled deputies to pardon the errors of the Government, was even more than usually eloquent and impassioned. Several deputies who had intended to speak renounced the idea after hearing the brilliant speech of "the eminent orator of the Government."

The Senate (writes the *Daily News* correspondent) is in a state of revolt in consequence of M. Ollivier's most sensible and much wanted declaration of the intention of Government to strip the reverend Seniors of at least three-fourths of their monopoly in regard to matters called "constitutional." The Committee on the Senatus Consultum, which by way of a beginning proposes to restore to the Corps Législatif the right of legislation as to the mode of electing mayors, has reported against the measure by a large majority. Firmness on the part of the Government will soon bring the Senators to reason, and I hear that M. Rouher, knowing that the Emperor gives his undivided confidence to the Ollivier Cabinet, ostentatiously proclaims his determination to cease all opposition for the moment. The *Gaulois*, speaking of the Senators, says the Constitutional State cannot afford to have spokes in the wheel of its car, every one of which costs 30,000f. a-year.

It is said that the Left have decided that, besides the abrogation of Articles 27 and 57 of the Constitution, they will demand the right of the Legislative Body to control all questions of the Budget, and to interdict the Executive from authorising credits or making grants of public money, or declaring war, or proclaiming neutral law without the sanction of the Legislative Body.

The Ministry are not, it is stated, occupied with the consideration of the electoral law. They feel certain of a majority in the Chamber, and, therefore, see no necessity for preparing for a dissolution.

SPAIN.

A duel was fought on Saturday between the Duke de Montpensier and the Infante Henry of Bourbon. The latter received a pistol ball in his head, and was killed. The correspondent of the *Telegraph* sends the following particulars of the tragedy:—"The Duke's seconds were two general officers and one of his aide-de-camps, holding the military rank of colonel. Three Republican deputies acted as the seconds of Prince Henry, who won the first shot, as well as choice of weapons and ground. The distance was ten paces. On the first firing the Prince missed his antagonist, who, returning the shot, also fired without effect. Prince Henry again missed, and was slightly wounded by the Duke's second shot, the bullet first striking his pistol. Prince Henry then fired a third time, and his ball grazed the Duke's cheek. The turn for the Duke to fire now came again, and his aim was deadly, the Prince being struck full in the forehead, and instantaneously killed. Seeing the fatal effect of his shot, the Duke exclaimed, 'My God! what have I done? His children shall not be orphans—they shall be my children.' The Duke de Montpensier and his seconds are still at liberty in Madrid, the police having no evidence on which to arrest them. The cause of the duel was a violent and insulting letter which Prince Henry addressed to the Duke, calling him a Jesuit conspirator, and a bloated French pastry-cook. A political intrigue, fomented by the French Government, is at the same time talked about in connection with the affair. All persons on the ground are said to have behaved well. After the Duke had fired twice, the seconds wished the duel to terminate; but the Prince, nettled by his wound, insisted that the encounter should proceed."

General Prim has again denied that any *coup d'état* in Spain is contemplated, and he declares that if the liberty of the Cortes in its choice of a Sovereign is threatened, he will defend it against all comers. Some manifestation against the military conscription was expected in Madrid on Saturday.

The *Nord* publishes a Madrid telegram which says it is asserted that Marshal Serrano will be elected King of Spain.

AMERICA.

The Washington Senate has by a large majority passed Mr. Sherman's Funding Bill. The measure, as it stands, in its amended form, authorises the Secretary of the Treasury to issue 1,200,000,000 dollars in bonds, the principal and interest of which are to be payable in coin and exempt from taxation. The issue will be in equal proportions at 5, 4½, and 4 per cent. interest respectively. The bill grants the Secretary of the Treasury power to pay agents in the United States and abroad ½ per cent. to negotiate the bonds. It is believed that the bill will be rejected or greatly modified by the House.

The House of Representatives, by 114 against 71 votes, has passed the bill admitting Georgia into the Union. The bill was amended so as to provide that the present State officers and the Legislature should continue in office during their constitutional term only. The elections in New Hampshire took place on the 8th, and the Republicans carried the State, but by a reduced majority. Mr. Stearns was re-elected Governor, and the Republicans have returned the entire State ticket, and have again a majority in the Legislature.

It is reported that Sir John Young, the Governor-General of Canada, intends to leave Ottawa for the Red River Territory immediately upon the adjournment of Parliament. The Chicago journals publish

despatches from the Red River, announcing that none of the prisoners taken by Riel will be shot.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

It is stated that the Slave Treaty of 1842 between England and Portugal is about to be revised, and that several of the clauses will be modified.

The Californian Legislature has abolished the law prohibiting operatic and theatrical performances on Sundays.

Eleven ladies were drawn upon a jury for March term of a court in Wyoming Territory recently, chiefly the wives of the most prominent citizens of Albany County.

According to *Le Gaulois*, a marriage is arranged between the Archduke Albert of Austria and the daughter of the ex-King of Hanover. The Emperor of Austria has at last given his consent, which he had for some time withheld.

SMALLPOX IN PARIS.—This epidemic still exists in Paris with a certain degree of severity, although great efforts are being made to induce vaccination among the population.

THE BIBLE IN AMERICAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.—The Board of Education of Cincinnati have resolved to appeal against the decision of the Superior Court of that city, sustaining the injunction against their suspension of the reading of the Bible in the public schools, to the Supreme Court of Ohio.

THE KING AND THE POPE.—It is said that King Victor Emmanuel, in returning from Naples, wished to pass through Rome, but was prevented by a letter from the Marquis de Banneville, stating that the Pontifical police were ordered to fire on the population on the first signs of a demonstration.

IMPROVED COMMUNICATION BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.—The French Government has appointed a commission to examine the proposal which has been made for the construction of a new port at Andresses on the Channel, with a view to the improvement of the steam communication between France and England.

SOUTH AFRICA.—News from Natal to the 22nd of January states that the goldfields were not paying. The northern goldfields were closed against Europeans till an arrangement was made with the new chief of the Matabele. The Basutos had cleared out of the Free State and conquered territory, and farms there were selling well. The Table Bay docks were to be opened on March 15.

THE EX-ROYAL FAMILY OF SPAIN.—The Emperor is said to have sent a general to King Francois d'Assise to express his deep displeasure at the dissension between the King and Queen Isabella. They have since, it appears, consented to submit their matrimonial differences to the arbitration of a private tribunal, to consist of five avocats, two to be nominated by each party, and the fifth to be selected by the arbitrators themselves. MM. Jules Favre and Saurier have been selected by the Queen, and MM. Mathien and Faure by Don Francisco.

THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH AND THE VICEROY arrived at Jubbulpore on Monday, the 7th inst. The line between Calcutta and Bombay has been declared open, and the inaugural ceremonies were followed by a grand banquet. The speech of the Viceroy on the occasion was much approved. His Excellency expressed in warm terms the satisfaction of the people of India at the Duke's visit. His Royal Highness started for Bombay on the morning of the 8th, staying for two days shooting on the way. The Viceroy returned to Calcutta on the 9th.

EXECUTION OF THE CUBAN JUNTA.—A letter from Santiago de Cuba, dated February 18, gives the following account of the trial and execution of the members of the Cuban Junta of that city:—"Eighteen well-known citizens, charged with belonging to the Cuban Junta, were arrested and taken to an obscure estate at San Juan, fifteen miles from this city. They were tried by court-martial, convicted of treason, and sentenced to suffer death. They were not allowed the assistance of counsel or the privilege of summoning witnesses in their defence. They were all executed soon after the termination of the trial. Among them were two Americans—viz., John Francis Portuondo, a naturalised citizen, and Charles Dannery, a native of the United States. Acting Governor Ojeda ordered that the men should be sent to the city, but Colonel Doet, commanding the contra guerrillas, refused to obey, alleging that he had received different orders from Count Valmaseda. The insurgent general, Napoleon Arango, who originated the rebellion in the Central Department, has voluntarily surrendered to the authorities at Las Minas, with seventy of his men. He promised to come to Havannah to confer with the Captain-General as to the best means of ending the insurrection without further bloodshed.

THE FATAL COLLISION OFF JAPAN.—A Hong-Kong telegram states that the Naval Court of Inquiry into the disastrous collision between the American war-vessel *Onesida* and the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamer *Bombay*, off Yokohama, has terminated. Captain Eyre, of the *Bombay*, has had his certificate suspended for six months. In the American papers detailed accounts, received *via* San Francisco, are given of the collision. The damage done to the *Onesida* was, it seems, of a most serious kind. A hole was cut, through which, it is stated, the whole interior of the ship was visible. The binnacle wheel and rudder were carried away, and two men standing at the wheel were instantly killed. Guns were immediately fired to attract the attention of the *Bombay*, but they failed to do so. The passengers on that vessel were quite surprised when they became aware of the calamity that had occurred, and declared they heard no guns nor any request to stop. Discipline was maintained to the last on board

the *Onesida*: the sick were put into the boats; the officers remained at their posts, and the captain was heard to say that if the ship went down he would go down with her. In ten minutes from the time of the collision she sank. Another collision, and in the same waters, with a Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamer, is reported. According to a telegram from Galle the ship *Carry* and *Jane* has been sunk by the *Sunda*, running between Hong Kong and Japan; but no particulars are given.

DEATH OF COUNT DE MONTALEMBERT.—The death of Count Charles Forbes de Tyron Montalembert is announced by telegraph. The late Count was born on May 29th, 1810, in London, where his father had settled during the French Revolution. His mother was English. His connection with the Abbé Lamennais, in the earlier portion of his career, gave a tone to the whole tenour of his life. Accepting the alliance of Catholicism and democracy, of which Lamennais was the apostle, Montalembert became a Liberal in politics. He was one of the first contributors to the journal called *l'Avenir*. The condemnation of Lamennais brought back Montalembert to the most severe orthodoxy. His famous "Life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary" was issued in 1836, and in 1843 he published his "Manifeste Catholique," an eloquent and incisive criticism on the relations between Church and State. In the same year he married Mlle. de Mérode, the daughter of a Belgian minister. Always a defender of oppressed nationalities, he delivered a funeral oration at a funeral service organised in memory of O'Connell, in 1848. Nearly at the same time he said he gave the Republic three months to live; it did not reach even that age. After the Revolution of 1848 the Count was a prominent member of Louis Napoleon's Legislature, and was denounced by Louis Blanc as an accomplice of "the heir of Bonaparte." He was elected a member of the French Academy in 1852, and was returned to the Corps Législatif in the same year. Count de Montalembert was the author of a considerable number of works on what may be called religious politics. In 1859 he was prosecuted for an article on the police of the French Emperor, but the action was abandoned. A man of aristocratic birth and liberal tendencies, an admirer of constitutional Government, and especially of that of England, he occupied a peculiar position amongst his contemporaries. The head of a small party which he denominated Catholic emphatically, he was still a passionate advocate of liberty.

Court, Official, and Personal News.

On Thursday Her Majesty, attended by several members of the Royal Family, held the first Drawing-room of the season in the Throne-room of Buckingham Palace. The presentations were about fifty in number. The Queen wore a rich black-ribbed silk dress, with a train trimmed with crape and jet, and a diadem of diamonds and opals, over a long white tulle veil. Her Majesty also wore a necklace and brooch of diamonds and opals, the Riband and Star of the Order of the Garter, the Orders of Victoria and Albert, and Louise of Prussia, and the Coburg and Gotha Family Order. On the same day Mr. Charles Dickens and Mr. Arthur Helps had the honour of an interview with her Majesty at Buckingham Palace.

On Friday afternoon her Majesty held a levee at Buckingham Palace, when the diplomatic and general circles were largely represented. There were about 240 presentations. During the latter part of the reception the Queen, who had been obliged to retire, was represented by the Prince of Wales.

The Queen paid a visit to the Duchess of Argyll on Saturday morning at Argyll Lodge. The Princess of Wales took luncheon with Her Majesty, and the Duke of Aumale visited Her Majesty in the afternoon.

On Saturday evening Her Majesty, whose health had recovered, returned to Windsor. The Queen of the Netherlands has gone to Windsor on a visit to Her Majesty. The Queen will, it is expected, visit Claremont House, near Esher, Surrey, about the close of this or the beginning of next week and remain several days.

The Queen and Royal Family attended Divine service on Sunday morning in the private chapel, Windsor Castle. The Bishop of London preached the sermon.

The Prince and Princess of Wales, and Princess Louise, were present at the christening of the infant Prince of Teck, at Kensington Palace. In the evening the Prince and Princess of Wales had a dancing party at Marlborough House, to which a large and distinguished circle were invited.

The Prince and Princess of Wales went on Monday to Kimbolton Castle on a visit to the Duke and Duchess of Manchester. Their reception by the people of the town and neighbourhood was very enthusiastic.

Mr. Gilpin, M.P., is in very weak health, and his medical advisers have directed him to remove for a time to the South of France. Rest, mental and bodily, is absolutely necessary, and for the present he is prohibited from attending to any kind of business, political or otherwise.

It is stated that the Committee upon Parliamentary and Municipal Elections have decided, by the casting vote of Lord Hartington, not to recommend that the expenses of the booth should cease to be paid by candidates.

Clumber House, the magnificent seat of the Duke of Newcastle, has just been let to Mr. Samuel Fox, of Deepcar, for 1,000*l.* a year rental.

At the Cabinet Council on Saturday, all the Cabinet Ministers were present except Mr. Bright.

The probable successor of the present Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's naval forces at the Nore will be Vice-Admiral the Hon. Charles G. J. B. Elliot, C.B., brother of the present Earl Minto, and brother-in-law of Earl Russell.

The death is announced of Mr. Henry Berkeley, M.P. for Bristol, after a long illness, in his seventy-sixth year. He represented that city since 1837. Mr. Berkeley was the champion of the ballot when it was in very low favour, and he went on undaunted with his work, until it is now on the eve of fulfilment.

The death is announced of Mr. William Brough, who has been well known as a journalist, essayist, and dramatist for the last twenty-two years.

The will of the late Lady Augusta Wentworth has been proved under 90,000*l.* personality, that of Mr. Thomas Fielden under 1,300,000*l.*, that of Mr. Thomas Parr under 500,000*l.*, that of Mr. George Thomas under 200,000*l.*, and that of Mr. Charles Schofield under 35,000*l.*

His Royal Highness Prince Christian of Schleswig Holstein, K.G., has consented to preside at the anniversary festival of the British Orphan Asylum, Slough, to take place on the 28th April.

LICENSING IN LONDON.—A memorial has been presented to the metropolitan magistrates by the London Auxiliary of the United Kingdom Alliance, asking them to refuse all new licences this year, as well as the renewal of those in cases where the houses have been complained of. The grounds of the memorial are the excessive number of houses now existing, and the misery, pauperism, and crime engendered through their instrumentality.

THE MISSING CITY OF BOSTON.—The captain of a sailing vessel which has arrived in the Mersey from America, reports having seen, on the 3rd inst., a large three-masted steamer, with a good deal of canvas set, but not making much way, and he thinks she was disabled owing to the breakdown of her machinery. This vessel, it is supposed, may have been the City of Boston. The captain of the *Britannia*, which arrived in the Clyde on Sunday night, also saw a large steamer, which he thinks was the missing ship. This was on the 9th inst., in lat. 54.18 N., long. 22.52 W.

CONSERVATIVE BANQUET IN LONDON.—A banquet was given on Wednesday night, under the auspices of the City of London Conservative Association, at the Cannon-street Hotel, and it was attended by a large number of distinguished members of the Conservative party. Mr. R. N. Fowler, M.P. (president of the association) presided, and among the guests, who numbered about 400, were the Duke of Marlborough, the Duke of Abercorn, the Marquis of Hamilton, the Earl of Abergavenny, Lord Colchester, Lord John Manners, Lord Leamox, Lord C. J. Hamilton, Mr. G. Hardy, Sir J. Pakington, Sir S. Northcote, Mr. Mowbray, &c. The usual loyal toasts were warmly received. A letter was then read from Mr. Disraeli, in which he said: "Parliaments can invest the people with the franchise; but after all, its practical enjoyment depended on their own vigilance and energy. The elector who is not registered is only theoretically free; but with perseverance and determination (qualities which in these critical times ought not to be wanting), the constituencies of the city of London and the rest of the metropolis may place themselves in the proud position of the great towns of the north, and, like them, vindicate English interests and English feelings. (Cheers.) Sir John Pakington returned thanks for the Army, Sir E. Belcher for the Navy, and Colonel Beresford for the Volunteers. The Chairman next proposed the toast of the evening, 'The Leaders of the Conservative Party.' Mr. G. Hardy, who was received with immense enthusiasm, responded. After some opening observations, he remarked that it was outside the walls of Parliament that the battle of the Conservative party must now be fought. They were there to congratulate the Conservatives of London on their success in the recent registration. They must not trust to minority clauses; but to majority principles. (Cheers.) They must not look forward to government by a minority in the country, for it was a task of such difficulty and irksomeness that men of honour shrink from it—(cheers)—and if they wanted their principles to be represented, they must work to secure a majority at the hustings. Mr. Gladstone was now at the head of an unequalled majority, but in 1857, and again in 1865, Liberal governments almost as strong had been driven from office because the so-called great Liberal party was not a cohesive party. It was composed of a head, a centre, and a tail, and it remained to be seen which was the strongest. The right hon. gentleman proceeded at great length to review the history of the past two sessions; and criticised in humorous terms the legislation which the Government has prepared for the present session. In conclusion, he pointed out that the duty of the Conservative party would be to watch with the utmost care the course of the Government on such subjects as the Colonial question, the Irish Land question, and the Educational Bill—to give effect to their principles, so far as they could, in their present position. The Duke of Marlborough returned thanks for the House of Lords, and Sir S. Northcote for the House of Commons. Other toasts followed, and the proceedings were not ended till after midnight.

Literature.

BELIEF.*

In these volumes we have a further contribution to the literature of the conflict between reason and faith. Both writers understand the present phase of the war—that the attack is now being made on those positions which have hitherto been regarded as unassailable. The alteration in the tactics of the enemy has necessitated a change in the mode of warfare; and amongst other weapons that are being discarded, is the clumsy and cruel charge of prejudice and wilful blindness towards the evidences of Christianity, which was once in common and almost universal use by the former defenders of the faith. Mr. Venn, whose masterly essay on the foundations and province of the Theory of Probability we have already noticed, addresses himself to meet the objections which are grounded on the differences which are prevalent in religious belief. It is urged that as most persons do not retain their religious convictions with unaltered tenacity, but find them vary exceedingly in practical efficacy according to circumstances, these convictions are less the product of objective facts than of our own morbid fancies. The endless conflict of opinions in religion (even if each person retained his own opinion with unwavering steadfastness) is supposed to afford pretty clear proof that the subject matter in question is one upon which truth cannot be reached. These facts are neither to be denied nor ignored, and if we do not obtain a logical explanation of these fluctuations and differences of our religious belief, we seem driven to one of two alternatives; either to adopt a non-logical explanation, or to conclude that there is none at all. Mr. Venn, in his first lecture, attempts to account for these characteristics, pointing out several respects in which evidence in moral and religious inquiries is broadly distinguished from scientific evidence. Not only are the facts which, as proof, combine to secure our assent, vast and indefinite in number, but each of these so-called "facts" is itself compound, being elaborated by the mind out of a little that is actually given, and much that is supplied; and, lastly and most important of all, emotions make up one of these groups of facts. In the province of science differences of opinion do on the whole tend gradually to diminish and finally to disappear. It is easy to see some of the reasons. Substantial unanimity is secured by the possibility of prompt and decisive experiments, and in the world of science there is no heaving sea of emotion, with its constant tides and its sudden changes. In political, social, and especially in religious matters we are open to the influence of our emotions. We are not only moved by them subjectively, but they present themselves in an objective aspect as being themselves some of the facts which have to be taken into account in framing or choosing our theories about the world.

Speaking of one of the differences between scientific and religious belief, Mr. Venn says:—

"If the vast comprehensiveness and multitudinous proof of any great religious truth seem to baffle our attempts to grasp it steadily, we may remember that these characteristics offer consolation as well. They multiply the occasions on which confirmation of the truth may be found, and enable us to find it through many a strange inlet. For just think how ample is the range of this confirmation. Close by, indeed, there is a sort of foreground of obvious facts observable which we may call *proof*. Beyond these, but still in connection, there are other facts which are valuable in corroboration as analogies; and, beyond these again, towards the dim haze of conjecture, where the horizon seems to fade away in metaphors and similes, there crowd upon us intimations and suggestions of every kind. Take, for example, some doctrine on the truth of which you have been accustomed to rely, and ask yourself on what does it depend? How is it established? As you examine its supports, you will find them spreading and ramifying in all directions, and perhaps at every point becoming obscurer and more difficult to track. And so it must be. I am speaking, of course, of any of those great religious principles on which men can live, and for which they will care to die. Examine their foundations, and what do you find? You cannot generally say with ready certainty, 'It is proved by such or such another principle, or it is accepted at once upon its own evidence.' You will discover it rests partly upon the harmony and connection which fit it in with other truths—(and what an amount of variety does this include!)—partly upon your own experience of what it can do for you, partly upon the similar experience of others. Yes; and you will find its foundations assuming stronger and more varied forms than these. You will find it deriving support from a pain, a disappointment, a pang of remorse. Now from our hopes and aspirations; now from a pleasure enjoyed and a time of quiet peace. . . . Hence what some might regard as mere trifles have in this way

* On Some of the Characteristics of Belief, Scientific and Religious. Being the Hulsean Lecture for 1869. By J. VENN, M.A., Fellow and Lecturer of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. (London and Cambridge: Macmillan. 1870.)

Judged by His Words: an Attempt to Weigh a Certain Kind of Evidence respecting Christ. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1870.)

a great and just importance—partly by recalling to us facts of which we were losing sight, partly by putting us into a sympathetic tone, and so enabling us to estimate them more fairly."

"Just when we are safest, there's a sunset touch,
A fancy from a flower-bell, some one's death,
A chorus-ending from Euripides—
And that's enough for fifty hopes and fears,
As old and new at once as Nature's self,
To rap and knock and enter in the soul."

Accounting for the difficulty of giving a logical explanation of the fluctuations and differences in our religious belief, Mr. Venn proffers help in the way of removing or rather reducing it. In science we have recourse to the "interrogation of nature," and with more or less care and labour we arrive at clear and unequivocal results. Such decisive experiments cannot, however, be made in religion. What then? Is there no sort of criterion by which we may distinguish between truth and error? Or is it unadvisable for us to meddle with matters which seem to be tainted with uncertainty? Now, if we direct our observation to the causes of the differences which undoubtedly exist in non-scientific subjects, instead of laying the stress upon the mere fact of their existence, and in addition begin to make personal experiments, checking ourselves not only by observing the effects which different circumstances have upon our belief, but enlarging our experience by appealing to the experience of others, we shall find ourselves in a position in which there is not that lamentable contrast that is supposed to exist between religion and science. Confirmation of elementary truths may, at any rate, be obtained in this way, that is, supposing the confirming testimony is really given under sufficiently independent circumstances. Mr. Venn, in his concluding essays, discusses the innocence and guilt of error, belief in miraculous accounts, and the modes of influencing our convictions. It is hardly necessary to add that the lectures are marked with the author's well-known power.

The other volume is anonymous, and the writer examines the evidence for the truth of Christianity which may be found in Christ's words. His investigation does not require the four Gospels to be received as a part of Divine revelation. These books are regarded, as far as the argument is concerned, merely as certain documents which came to light at some period or other, it matters not precisely when, containing internal evidence of having been written before a certain date in the Christian Era. The words of our Lord form the chief part of the records of the Evangelists, and thus furnish abundant materials for evidence concerning the character and nature of Christ. All that our Lord is reported to have uttered is given, not in His own words, but in a paraphrase, in which, according to the author's judgment, the meaning is fairly rendered. Exception will be taken against some of the interpretations, but on the whole "the evidence," which fills 200 pages, is impartial. In the summary, all reference to the fourth Gospel is omitted, and reasons are given for the assumption that the reports furnished by the three synoptists are substantially true. The verdict is not dictated, but the side taken by the writer is plainly seen. The religious public will be unable to repeat the objection they urged against the anonymous author of the first of this series of essays. "Judged by His Words" suffers in comparison with "Ecce Homo." It was evidently suggested by its predecessor, and it is carefully composed; but it lacks the genius, scholarship, and literary skill of that remarkable production.

THE BROAD CHURCH.*

Mr. Leslie Stephen in the current number of *Fraser's Magazine* has done good service by boldly raising the question as to the morality of the position occupied by the Broad Church clergy. He does not say much that has not been said before, though what he does say is put in an exceedingly trenchant and vigorous style. But its special novelty is that it comes from one holding the theological views which he does not hesitate here to express. Evangelicals and High Churchmen have spoken to the same effect, but they have looked at the subject from their own standpoint, and their utterances have been regarded mainly as the result of their theological antipathies. Dissenters have from the first held that the position of Broad Churchmen was utterly untenable, that their theory as to the comprehensiveness of the National Church was in direct contravention of the facts, that the decision of the courts could not in any way release the individual conscience from its responsibilities, and that the systematic trifling with solemn obligations was a shock to the moral

* *Fraser's Magazine*. March. *The Broad Church*. By LESLIE STEPHEN.

sense of the nation. Of course they did not apply this to any one party alone, and they were not at all moved by the plea that to apply such principles fully would break up the Establishment; but equally of course their remonstrances were despised as the manifestations of their antagonism to the Establishment itself. But Mr. Stephen maintains that the Broad Church party is the salt of the Church, that through it alone the Church retains whatever hold it still possesses upon the thinking men of the country; and yet he contends that the position its members take is inconsistent in itself, and is fraught with serious injury to the morality of the country and to the interests of the very principles they are desirous to uphold. Mr. Voysey and Mr. Clark are, at the present moment, representatives of two opposite tendencies. The former is determined to try what the law will allow, and not to abandon his post till the decision of the courts compels him to do it. Mr. Clark, on the contrary, feels that he cannot, in consistency with his private opinions, take part in the public services of the Church, and so give outwardly by his official acts an apparent countenance to doctrines which in his soul he abhors. It is Mr. Clark's course which appears to Mr. Stephen more straightforward, more intelligible, and more calculated to exert a beneficial influence on the country, and the argument by which he supports this view is singularly cogent and convincing.

He makes a distinction between the two sections of the Broad Church party—that represented by Dr. Temple on the one side, and that of which Bishop Colenso and Mr. Voysey may be regarded as the exponents on the other. The position of the former, as indicated in the Bishop's first sermon in Exeter Cathedral, he considers not inconsistent with the most impartial interpretation of the Articles. "Dr. Temple might naturally feel not merely that 'he could conscientiously sign the tests, but 'that the formularies of the Church provided 'the most natural expression of his religious 'convictions.' Not so those who take the ground of the Bishop of Natal or of Mr. Voysey—those 'whose sentiments seem to fit with a 'certain awkwardness into the phraseology 'officially provided for them, and who substantially argue that they are justified in using 'rather strained versions of ordinary language, 'because the law has sanctioned very wide 'methods of interpretation.' It is fair in forming a judgment of the conduct of those who hold this view to remember that they are only following in the wake of others, and among them the very party who reproach them for their Rationalism. 'Our formularies,' says Dr. Hook, in his essay on 'Anglican Principles,' 'have been unequivocal and orthodox; 'but the Puritan party, still existing in the 'Church, have received them in a non-natural 'sense. Their conduct has sometimes occasioned surprise; but it has been ruled in the 'courts of law that, if they accept the formularies, we have no right to examine them as to 'the sense in which they receive them, or to 'deprive them of their benefices.' This principle, the only one on which a number of the Evangelicals could retain their livings, is that on which the extreme Left of the Broad Church rest their defence. Mr. Stephen, in assailing it, takes care, therefore, to disclaim all imputations of personal dishonesty, and to treat the question itself in its broader aspects. The case has seldom, if ever, been more forcibly put than in the following passage:—

"The Articles are an expression of the views about theology current in this part of the British islands in the sixteenth century; they embody all sorts of dogmas which have floated down from distant ages, the sense of many of them entirely evaporating on the road; they represent the best available compromise which could be struck out under the circumstances of the time; and it need not be said that the whole current of modern thought has ebbed away from many of the questions discussed, and left nothing but the bare husks of extinct opinions which for ordinary Englishmen have next to no significance. Next comes a gentleman of great candour and abilities, thoroughly versed in all modern philosophy, who professes to have started from first principles, to have worked out his conclusions without fear or favour; to have followed the united teaching of reason and revelation wherever it led him; and behold! he discovers that these Articles exactly express his very deepest convictions in the most unequivocal language. When such a phenomenon occurs, as it sometimes does, I must confess it gives me a very unpleasant sensation. One of two conclusions is inevitable. Either there is a coincidence which may almost be called miraculous; if Lord Bacon or the wisest man of his time, whoever he was, had drawn up a scheme of politics, we should now have pronounced it defective and erroneous, and altogether beside the modern modes of thought; theology has undergone a change not less profound and extensive; yet this formula, drawn up by men ignorant of our modern doubts and convictions, turns out to be so flexible, or to have such vitality, that it exactly expresses the ripest conclusions of an eminent modern thinker,—a result which is to me as singular as if the strategies of days before gunpowder were precisely suitable for the era of ironclads and Henry rifles. Or else—and I confess this is the only conclusion at which I could arrive—the

eminent modern thinker, like many other eminent men, has been unconsciously biased in his reasonings by the desire to reach certain foregone conclusions.

"It is this constantly recurring difficulty which, as it seems to me, damages very seriously the influence of the Broad Church party. They protest, and I doubt not with perfect sincerity, that they throw aside all considerations except the simple desire of discovering the truth. And yet their investigations always end in opinions which are at least capable of expression in the words of the most antiquated formulae. It is as if a man should say that he always steered due north, and yet his course should invariably take him safely through all the tortuosities of the Thames, and land him conveniently at Lambeth Stairs."

It is but a poor plea to urge in behalf of a policy which wears, to say the least, so equivocal an aspect, that the cause of free inquiry gains by the continuance of men with such opinions in the Church, for this, when tested, is really only the old Jesuit argument, with which lovers of truth and progress can have no sympathy. Whatever be the value of freedom—and we appreciate it as highly as any one—it is too dearly purchased if it be secured by the sacrifice of moral principle. A comprehensive Church may be a most desirable institution, but even those who now anxiously long for it will hardly maintain that the comprehension which is attained only by means of legal quibbles, by trifling with the natural sense of words, and by gravely setting forth as valid interpretations of authoritative documents, explanations which, however ingenious, only provoke contemptuous laughter and indignation when employed for such a purpose. Mr. Leslie shows good reason for doubting whether free thought gains anything in consequence of the position thus occupied by its advocates. But he places his main argument on a much higher ground: he insists on the shock to the moral feelings of the community by the attempt of religious teachers to construe to plain language in a sense which no unprejudiced and disinterested man could ever attach to it or indeed be induced to believe could be seriously attached to it by any other man. He points out the wide-spread injury which is being done by the idea that is engendered that, though it is decorous and respectable for clergymen to teach certain things in church, and for their hearers to affect an outward agreement in them, yet it is understood that even the teachers themselves do not really believe them, and that out of church they and their hearers alike may treat them as old wives' fables. He maintains that those members of the Broad Church who advocate the policy in question, "do as much harm to the one necessary element of satisfactory discussion—a perfect confidence in the mental sincerity of the disputants—as can well be done by thoroughly dishonest and 'able men.'" His reasonings are unanswerable, and he brings out into prominence an aspect of the subject which has been too much ignored, but which, happily, the manly conduct of Mr. Clark and others have forced into notice. The personal honesty of the men does not remove the scandal to public morality resulting from the present state of things, and the sooner all parties are led to feel that perfect intellectual sincerity and openness is a primary duty, the better for the cause of truth, of freedom, and of Christianity.

BRIEF NOTICES.

Grif: a Story of Australian Life. By B. L. FARGEON. (Tinsley Brothers.) If this be a faithful representation of Australian society, Australia must certainly be anything but a pleasant country in which to live. Considering the class of emigrants which we have sent forth from this country, it is not wonderful that there should be found in Melbourne a class of men as degraded and wicked as those who play so prominent a part in this story. Our complaint of the book is that it gives so little of the other side. We are introduced, indeed, to the society of the rich, but there is nothing in it to inspire either respect or admiration. Proud insolence, vulgar ostentation, and sanctimonious hypocrisy, are among the most marked features of the moneyed aristocrats of Melbourne with whom we make acquaintance. Mr. Zechariah Blemish is the man whom the city delights to honour, and he is an atrocious swindler, whose evil deeds are all the more repulsive because of the veneering of religion and philanthropy by means of which he endeavours to hide his true character. We have no doubt there are such men in a community so heterogeneous in its composition as that of Melbourne, but we know there are others of a different calibre, though they are not to be found in this volume except in a different circle. It is in the homes of poverty and vice that we find "Grif," an outcast boy without culture, but who, in his tenderness to his dumb companion, and the poor orphan who was more destitute even than himself, in his unselfishness, and in his fidelity to the heroine of the story whose goodness has touched his heart, develops high and noble characteristics. Alice, the daughter of a rich merchant, who is married to a man utterly unworthy of her, and whom we find in the depths of poverty, still cherishing a

beautiful devotion to the scamp of a husband, is also a fine character. On both of them our writer has expended much care, and not without success; but even they are insufficient to relieve the effect produced by the villains with whose deeds so much of the book is occupied. Mr. Fargeon is not without power, which might be employed to much better purpose than in the delineation of the "Tender-hearted Oysterman and his Associates." The story of "The Poor Welshman," shows that he is capable of much better things, and should he make another venture in the world of fiction, we hope he will find a more pleasant theme.

The Treasury of David. Containing an original exposition of the Book of Psalms; a collection of illustrative extracts from the whole range of literature; a series of Homiletical hints upon almost every verse, and lists of writers upon each Psalm. By C. H. SPURGEON. Vol. I. Psalm i. xxvi. (Passmore and Alabaster.) It is sufficient to say that this book fully corresponds to its title to show that it contains a large amount of interesting and valuable matter. It is not the book to which we should refer for a critical examination of any difficulties, for a satisfactory discussion, for example, of the Messianic character of particular Psalms, or, in fact, of any of those vexed questions which modern criticism has raised. But it is the very book to help the devout mind to gain the spiritual light and impulse to be found in the Psalms. Apart from all questions of doctrine or of the correctness of the interpretation of particular portions, there is quite enough in the devotional reflections and the practical lessons suggested to interest and profit. The book is thoroughly characteristic. In its evangelical tone, in its spiritual sentiment, in its faithful appeals to the heart and conscience, it is in every way worthy of its distinguished author, who must have expended considerable pains not only in the study of the Psalms themselves, but of the numerous writers who have treated of the whole or part of them. Besides his own comments, he gives us a very choice repertory of the wisest utterances of others, under the title of "Explanatory Notes and 'Quaint Sayings.'" In this collection he has by no means restricted himself to one particular class. The Puritan divines are, we need hardly say, his great favourites, but he has been Catholic in his reading, and he presents us with the results of extensive research. The book has evidently been prepared for usefulness rather than for fame. "When," says Mr. Spurgeon, in a brief preface which is touching in its simplicity and earnestness, "protracted illness and weakness laid me aside from daily preaching, I resorted to my pen as 'an available means of doing good. I would have preached had I been able, but as my Master denied me the privilege of thus serving him, I gladly availed myself of this other method of bearing testimony for 'His name.'" The thorough sincerity and hearty devotion to the one work of his life so evident here and throughout the book must command respect, and we can only hope that the author's most sanguine hopes as to its usefulness may be abundantly fulfilled.

Studies in Church History. By HENRY C. LEA. (Sampson, Low, Son, and Marston.) The object of this book, which comes to us from across the Atlantic, is to show how the Church of Christ has been diverted from her great spiritual work by the endeavour to establish an absolute theocratic despotism. Mr. Lea, though his subject necessarily leads him to dwell upon the darker side of the Church's story, is not insensible to the civilising power she has exerted and especially to the service she rendered to the cause of humanity in ages when there was no other influence to restrain the excesses of power. But he properly says, "If we ask what would have been the condition of the world if that organisation had not succeeded in bearing the ark of Christianity through the wilderness of the first fifteen centuries, in summing up the benefits which the world has derived through the Church, we may not unreasonably inquire how much greater would have been our advance in all that renders us worthy of the precepts of the Gospel, had that Church always been true to its momentous trust." In three essays Mr. Lea traces the working of the evil spirit which reduced the Church from the path which her Divine Founder had marked out for her, and points out the calamitous results of her attempt to set up a kingdom in this world. The first treats of the rise of the temporal power; the second discusses the "Benefit of Clergy," shows how the idea of clerical immunity first discovered itself in the Council of Nicaea, how it grew under some of the Emperors, and was more fully asserted under the Popes, and exhibits the mischiefs which have attended it; the third is on Excommunication, the terrors of which are traced to the doctrine of the Sacraments and the power obtained by the clergy through their control of them. They are able and careful digests of information necessary for all who would have an intelligent view of the relations of Church and State, and of the character of the influence which the Papacy has exerted on both.

National Self-Government in Europe and America. By J. W. PROBYN. (London: Trubner and Co.) There are few subjects of which even intelligent men are so strangely ignorant as contemporary history. Events follow each other so rapidly that those of to-day rapidly thrust their predecessors out of the memory, and thus there are not many who preserve the recollection of any thing beyond the merest outline of the history of recent years, and fewer still who have formed any clear idea of

the nature of the forces that are at work in society, and the manner in which they are being developed. A little book, therefore, which, like the unpretending volume before us, briefly sketches the progress of events, and sums up the results, is eminently instructive and useful. In the first chapter there is a very able discussion of the merits of representative and personal government, in which among the points of interest we note a short but telling criticism on the "Caesarian Democrats," or "Imperial Socialists," the men who "proclaim, in fact, 'that a people show the truest appreciation of political freedom when using it to accomplish political suicide.'" We have then a vivid sketch of "Belgium and France," of the progress of liberty in Europe during the last twenty years, of the similar development in America. The force of the essay on "Religious Liberty," which is on the whole candid and powerful, is greatly weakened by the author's unwillingness to carry out his own principles. Admitting that all Church establishments are doomed, and looking forward to their abolition without a fear, he yet desires that in the case of the English, the Austro-Hungarian, and the Italian Establishments there should be delay, and that "the best course for the 'legislators at the present moment is to let this question of the union of Church and State as it exists 'within their respective lands remain at rest. Logic 'has no doubt much fairly to say against such a course; 'but it is very good that logic should at times be called 'upon to give way to the dictates of practical statesmanship. Wisdom often commends such a course, 'when, as in the case under consideration, there is no 'great practical injustice, which cries, and rightly cries, 'for immediate redress.'" We suppose it is difficult for those who are not suffering under a practical injustice to understand its extent and pressure. The Nonconformists of England have certainly formed a different estimate on this point from that of Mr. Probyn. As to the evil of letting the question rest, we have no stronger proof than is afforded just now by the state of the Education question, the complications and difficulty of which arise mainly out of the existence of a national Establishment of religion.

George Cruikshank's Fairy Library, Hop-o-my-Thumb, Jack and the Bean Stalk, Cinderella, Puss in Boots. (Bell and Daldy.) Mr. Dickens made it a matter of complaint against Mr. George Cruikshank some years ago that he had altered and adapted a popular fairy tale to suit his own opinions. Mr. Cruikshank admits the truth of the charge, but denies that it is one of which he need be ashamed. He has re-written and re-edited these tales to a considerable extent, but, he adds, "I have been most careful in clearly working out all the wild poetical parts, and faithfully preserving all the important features of each and all, so that all the wonderful parts are given that so astonishing and delight children, but in what I hope a more readable form, quite as entertaining, and I trust somewhat more useful." So far we agree with him. Whether he has not too rigidly defined to himself what is in itself right and what is wrong, is another matter. However, we gladly commend the book, which is embellished with his own delightful drawings.

The Eleventh Edition (enlarged) of Hymns and Meditations, by A. L. W. (London: Strahan and Co.), is in a cheap and handy form. These verses are simple and sweet, many of them having found their way to some of the popular collections of Christian song. The volume is a choice companion for a quiet meditative hour.

Handbook of Contemporary Biography, by FREDERICK MARTIN (London: Macmillan and Co.), is a handy compilation by a skilled compiler. It is, as stated in the preface, "an attempt to produce a book of reference 'furnishing in a condensed form some biographical 'particulars of notable living men.'" A book of this nature is necessarily imperfect and inadequate in its first issue, and this will need many corrections and additions before it can be all that such a book should be. This process of revision is already begun in an appendix to the present volume, where we find such names as Herbert Spencer, Professor Beesly, F. Seebohm, H. S. Skeats, Sir S. Baker, C. E. Mudie, Sir John Lubbock, &c., &c. In the body of the work we look in vain for many names which are undoubtedly familiar to a very large section of the community, and that not the Nonconforming section only, while on the other hand there is a record of many persons whom we should certainly hesitate to call "notable."

Conscience Clauses and Conscience Rights. A Letter to the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P. By HERBERT S. SKEATS. (London: Arthur Miall.) In this brief but succinct pamphlet Mr. Skeats furnishes an interesting and timely sketch of the various conscience clauses which have been proposed during the last generation, for the purpose of guarding individual convictions under the denominational system of education. Illustrations are given of the total failure of any such provision to prevent clerical and squirearchical oppression in the rural districts. It is instructive to know that, against even the moderate safeguards proposed from time to time by the Government, a large number of the clergy have successfully protested, and to read the evidence which conclusively proves a Conscience Clause in connection with Church schools in the country to be practically useless. A special value attaches to Mr. Skeats' pamphlet just now, because he enables us to measure the claims put forward on behalf

of "religious education" with the actual results of the present system as described in the reports of the official inspectors. If these extracts do not convince the champions of denominationalism, it is because they wilfully shut their eyes. The bishops and clergy are now, after twenty-five years of opposition, willing, nay, anxious, to adopt a Conscience Clause. Such sudden conversions, as Mr. Skeats says, are apt to excite suspicion. "The element of suspicion existing in this case is owing to their being now well aware of the fact that the alternative is rising, if it has not arisen, of either a Conscience Clause or no denominational education whatever." Mr. Skeats thinks that the religious difficulty in education is not insoluble, and is disposed to favour the proposal of the Manchester School Bill, which it may be remembered both Mr. Forster and Mr. Bruce two years ago cordially endorsed. It is as follows:—"No religious catechisms or formularies shall be used in such schools, nor shall anything in support of or in opposition to the peculiar tenets of any religious sect or denomination be taught therein: Provided that nothing herein contained shall be held to exclude the reading of the Holy Scriptures in such schools." But something more is necessary; and it is suggested by Mr. Skeats that, as supplementary to this clause, there should be a provision, first, that religious instruction shall be given always at certain times either before or after other instruction, and, secondly, that no child should receive it unless at the parents' request. This is, in effect, though a little more stringently put, the substance of Mr. Winterbotham's amendments to Clause 7 of the Government Bill, the acceptance of which would satisfy the majority of Nonconformists.

Miscellaneous.

THE LATE WATERFORD ELECTION.—Mr. Smyth, the Nationalist candidate at the late Waterford election, considers that the borough is his "by the will of the people," and "with the blessing of God he will have it." The petition against Mr. Osborne is to be prosecuted.

KINGSTON BRIDGE.—The Lord Mayor, the sheriffs, and several members of the joint committee of the Corporation and the Board of Works, opened Kingston-bridge toll-free on Saturday. The inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood appeared to take much interest in the ceremony, which was gone through amid very general enthusiasm.

CHRIST'S HOSPITAL.—Some important changes are believed to be in contemplation by the authorities of Christ's Hospital. Two middle-class day-schools, for the accommodation of about a thousand boys, are to be established in London, and the boarding-school of the present hospital is to be removed into the country. A school for girls, and a revision of the rights of donation-governors, are also spoken of.

THE LABOUR REPRESENTATION LEAGUE have resolved to open communications with the Reform Club, so that in any case of a working man's candidature, the Liberal interest may not be divided. Mr. Odger has offered himself for Bristol without conveying his intention to the League, and the executive council have therefore decided to take no official notice of the contest in that city. The League have announced their intention of holding a large meeting in Trafalgar-square on Good Friday to advocate State aid to emigration.

MIDDLE-CLASS SCHOOLS IN LONDON.—A very satisfactory account was given at the meeting held in the City on Friday, under the Lord Mayor's presidency, of the progress of the middle-class schools movement, to promote which the Middle-class Schools Corporation was established. Mr. J. P. Cassiot, in moving the adoption of the report, attributed much of their success to their fortunate choice of a headmaster, and said not a single parent had ever complained of the religious education given. The Lord Mayor was anxious that more should be done for the education of girls, for otherwise he said the boys whom they were educating would find no young women, as they grew up, sufficiently well-taught to be their wives.

REPRESENTATION OF BRISTOL.—THE TEST BALLOT.—The committee chosen on the part of Mr. Hodgson and Mr. Robinson to arrange terms for a test ballot, met at the Liberal Registration Rooms, Tailors-court, on Saturday. The committee were upwards of three hours discussing the details, and eventually arranged the terms upon which a preliminary ballot should be taken of the Liberal electors in the borough. Mr. Odger has not yet consented to submit to the test ballot, but a memorial is being signed by his committee and supporters requesting him to throw in his lot with the other Liberal candidates, and it is supposed that he will ultimately agree.

THE HALFPENNY RATE OF POSTAGE.—The Postmaster-General received, on Saturday, a deputation of gentlemen who are favourable to the adoption of a halfpenny rate of postage on printed matter weighing not more than two ounces, and to the adoption of the same rate on newspapers. In replying to the deputation, the Marquis of Hartington had very little doubt that the department over which he presides would be equal to the increased work, but he was not so confident that the rates proposed would be remunerative. At present he had no statistics of such a character as would enable him to put the matter in a promising light before the Chan-

cellor of the Exchequer. He would, however, take the opinion of the Government on the subject, and hoped to be able shortly to make a statement upon it in the House.

THE DIVISION ON THE IRISH LAND BILL.—The return given to the tellers for the "ayes" on Saturday morning was inaccurate. The actual number who supported the second reading of the bill was 444 (not 442). The minority of eleven included three English members, Mr. Henry, Sir W. Bagge, and Mr. James Lowther. Of the 102 Irish members, 68 voted for the second reading, and 10 voted for the amendment of Mr. Bryan. Twenty-four were absent, and three seats are vacant—Dublin, Cashel, and Sligo. Of the absentees, several were present during the debate, but left the House before the doors were closed for the division. The committee on the bill is fixed for the first order of the day on Monday next, the 21st inst. On Saturday the name of Mr. J. Eanis, M.P. for Athlone, was published as having supported the amendment to the second reading of the bill, whereas, as will be seen by the official list, he voted for the measure.—*Morning Post.*

MUNIFICENT LEGACY TO THE SCOTCH EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—The Edinburgh papers state that by the death of Miss Walker, of Coates, which happened at Drumseugh on the 4th inst., a valuable succession has opened to the Episcopal Church in Scotland. By a joint-deed executed by her sister, Miss Barbara Walker, who died in 1859, and herself, and which now comes into operation, the whole of their estates, including the lands of Coates and Drumseugh, which have acquired great value by feuing during the last half century, are devoted (after certain legacies and provisions to friends and the members of the household), by way of permanent trust, for the benefit of the Episcopal Church in Scotland. The purposes of the trust includes the erection of a handsome cathedral church at the west end of Melville-street, at a cost of 40,000*l.* or upwards, which, from respect to the memory of the mother of the deceased ladies, is directed to be named the Cathedral Church of St. Mary; and it will be amply endowed—provision having been made for a stipend or salary of 1,000*l.* per annum to the incumbent, a permanent provision of 800*l.* per annum for bursaries for young men destined for the Episcopal ministry, and power to erect and endow additional chapels and found additional bursaries, &c.

Gleanings.

The charge of libel brought against Mr. John Hardy, M.P., has been withdrawn at the Stafford Assizes.

At Knowsley, last week, the late Earl of Derby's racing stud was brought to the hammer, and realised 4,725 guineas.

M. Prilleux, in a paper "On the Effects of Frost upon Plants," has shown that if the thaw is conducted gradually, the plant will always revive.

The last Sunday lecture at St. George's Hall was by Professor Huxley, on "The Forefathers of the English People on the Mainland of Europe and Asia."

We hear that a Concordance to Spenser is named amongst forthcoming works. There can be no question of the utility of such a work to students of our language and literature; especially when executed, as we understand the present compilation is, with strict regard to verbal correctness and completeness.

The High-Church *Guardian* gives the following "report of debates in the Convocations of Canterbury and York on the Revision of the Authorised Version":—

Says the South—"Our book is clearly wrong—Let's take the right word—Sumpelmsus."

Says the North—"We've gone on well so long, We'd better keep our Mumpelmsus."

A NON-CONDUCTOR.—Professor B., the eminent electrician, was travelling lately, when a man came up and asked him for his fare. "Who are you?" said B. "I? My name is Wood; I am a conductor." "Oh," said the professor, very quietly, "that can't be, for wood is a non-conductor."

NOTICE.—All announcements intended for this column must be accompanied by a remittance of half-a-crown in postage-stamps.

Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

DEATHS.

FOSTER.—February 11, at the house of her son, 4, Alpha-street, Peckham Rye, Mary, widow of the late Mr. James Foster, of London, and daughter of the late Rev. Thos. Weare, of Enfield.

KENT.—February 19, at Paterson, Passaic County, New Jersey, U.S., Sarah Georgiana, wife of Ridley Kent, M.D. Friends will kindly accept this notice.

HOLLOWAY'S PILLS.—Protectors of Health.—In the hand-to-hand struggle for existence in the present day, good health is everything. When it is lacking, all enjoyment is excluded, and competency is too often reduced to poverty. Holloway's purifying, digestive, and laxative Pills are admirably adapted for restoring soundness to invalids whose functions are so feebly or irregularly performed, that life itself seems most precarious. The stomach has its many maladies removed by a judicious use of these Pills; the torpid liver is roused by them to active secretions, the kidneys are kindly encouraged to greater activity, the bowels are gently stimulated, and every other organ subserving digestion is placed at natural standard and better fitted for its duties.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

(From Wednesday's Gazette.)

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 32, for the week ending Wednesday, March 9.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

Notes issued	£34,134,630	Government Debt	£11,015,100
		Other Securities ..	3,984,909
		Gold Coin & Bullion	19,134,630
	£34,134,630		£34,134,630

BANKING DEPARTMENT.

Proprietors' Capital	£14,553,000	Government Securities (inc. dead weight annuity)	£13,831,314
Reserve	8,631,780	Other Securities ..	19,643,672
Public Deposits	10,907,699	Notes	11,834,085
Other Deposits	16,762,453	Gold & Silver Coin	950,989
Seven Day and other Bills	412,128		
	£46,267,060		£46,267,060

March 10, 1870.

GEO. FORBES, Chief Cashier.

Markets.

CORN EXCHANGE, LONDON, Monday, March 14.

The arrivals of both English and foreign wheat are small. The trade was firmer, and all good samples of English wheat met a ready sale, at an advance of 1*s.* per qr. from the rates of this day week. Foreign wheat also was 1*s.* per qr. higher. Country flour was 1*s.* per sack, and American 6*d.* per barrel dearer. Peas and beans were steady, at former prices. Barley made 1*s.* per qr. advance. Indian corn was 6*d.* per qr. higher. Of oats we have unusually small arrivals, and parcels ex granary made 3*d.* to 6*d.* per qr. over last Monday's quotations. Cargoes on the coast have met improved demand at late prices.

CURRENT PRICES.

WHEAT—	Per Qr.	Per Qr.	PEAS—	Per Qr.	Per Qr.
Essex and Kent, red, old ..	44 to 46		Grey	31 to 32	
Ditto new ..	37 to 44		Maple	33 to 39	
White, old ..	45 to 50		White	33 to 36	
" new ..	39 to 48		Boilers	33 to 36	
Foreign red ..	39 to 40		Foreign boilers ..	33 to 35	
" white ..	42 to 44				
BARLEY—			RYE	31 to 32	
English malting ..	26 to 30				
Chevalier	34 to 40		OATS—		
Distilling	30 to 34		English feed ..	18 to 20	
Foreign	29 to 32		" potato ..	23 to 24	
MALT—			Scotch feed ..	— to —	
Pale	— to —		" potato ..	— to —	
Chevalier	— to —		Irish black ..	16 to 18	
Brown	48 to 54		" white ..	16 to 18	
BEANS—			Foreign feed ..	16 to 18	
Ticks	32 to 34				
Harrow	35 to 37		FLOUR—		
Small	— to —		Town made ..	37 to 43	
Egyptian	34 to 37		Country Marks ..	32 to 38	
			Norfolk & Suffolk	28 to 29	

BREAD, Saturday, March 12.—The prices in the Metropolis are, for wheaten bread, per 4*lb.* loaf, 7*d.* to 7½*d.*; Household bread, 5½*d.* to 6½*d.*

METROPOLITAN CATTLE MARKET, Monday, March 14.

The total imports of foreign stock into London last week amounted to 8,455 head. In the corresponding week in 1869, we received 12,508; in 1868, 8,012; in 1867, 10,305; and in 1866, 13,319 head. Increased supplies of stock were on sale to-day, for which the trade generally was quiet. As regards beasts, the receipts from our own grazing districts were on a moderate scale. The quality of the Scotch beasts on sale to-day has been satisfactory, and Norfolk also has been fairly represented. For all breeds the inquiry has been limited, and the choicest stock has been disposed of at 5*s.* to 5*s.* 2*d.* per 8 *lbs.* From Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire we received about 1,360, from other parts of England about 400 various breeds; from Scotland, 214 Scots and crosses; and from Ireland 100 head. With English and foreign sheep the market has been more freely supplied. More animation has been noticed in the trade, and the best Downs and half-breeds have sold at 5*s.* 10*d.* to 6*s.* per 8 *lbs.* Some white-faced shorn sheep have been disposed of at about 5*s.* per 8 *lbs.*, and the value of tegs in the wool had a drooping tendency. Lambs have been in moderate request at from 7*s.* 6*d.* to 8*s.* per 8 *lbs.* Calves have been sold at about late rates. Pigs have been in limited request, at previous quotations.

Per 8*lbs.* to sink the Offal.

Inf. coarse beasts	2 to 3 10	Prime Southdown	5 to 6 0
Second quality	4 2 4 8	Lambs	0 0 0 0
Prime large oxen	4 10 5 0	Lge. coarse calves	4 2 5 0
Prime Scots, &c.	5 0 5 2	Prime small ..	5 4 8 0
Coarse inf. sheep	3 4 4 0	Large hogs ..	4 6 5 4
Second quality	4 2 4 6	Meat-sm. porkers	5 6 5 10
Pr. coarse woolled	5 2 5 6		

Suckling calves 22*s.* to 26*s.*, and quarter-old store pigs, 20*s.* to 25*s.* each.

METROPOLITAN MEAT MARKET, Monday, March 14.—Moderate supplies of meat on sale. For all qualities trade has been dull, and prices have ruled as under. The import into London last week consisted of 49 packages 17 cases from Rotterdam, 23 packages 35 cases from Harlingen, 609 packages from Hamburg, 5 cases from Antwerp, and 26 bales from Calais.

Per 8*lbs.* by the carcase.

Inferior beef	3 4 to 3 8	Middling ditto	4 0 to 4 4
Middling ditto	3 8 to 4 0	Prime ditto ..	4 6 to 4 10
Prime large do.	4 2 to 4 6	Veal	5 0 to 5 4
Do. small do.	4 6 to 4 8	Small pork ..	4 8 to 5 4
Large Pork ..	3 8 to 4 0	Lambs	0 0 to 0 0
Inf. mutton ..	3 8 to 4 0		

PROVISIONS, Monday, March 14.—The arrivals last week from Ireland were 128 firkins butter, and 2,870 bales bacon, and from foreign ports 17,537 packages butter, and 2,204 bales and 185 boxes bacon. In butter markets we have little alteration to notice in prices during last week. The finest foreign met a good sale; best Dutch, the quality of which has improved, advanced to 12½*s.* to 12*s.* 6*d.* The bacon market ruled quiet, and prices declined about 2*s.* per cwt. At the close of the week rather more business was transacted.

BOROUGH HOP MARKET, Monday, March 14.—Our market presents no change worthy of notice. A limited hand-to-mouth trade still exists for new home-growths, and the actual business done being very small. There is little or no change in the market quotations of choice new English and the best sorts of new Bavarian and American hops, but a disposition is everywhere shown to meet buyers. Yearlings of all kinds attract no attention. Imports for the week ending March 12, 3,225 bales, against 1,278 bales the previous week. New York advices to the 1st inst. report the market unaltered,

trad^e being very dull, partly owing to the recent fall in gold. Mid and East Kent, 71. 0s., 91. 5s., to 121. 12s.; Weald, 61. 0s., 71. 0s., to 81. 0s.; Sussex, 51. 12s., 61. 6s., to 61. 15s.; Bavarians, 61. 6s., 71. 7s., to 91. 0s.; French, 51. 0s., 51. 15s., to 61. 10s.; Americans, 41. 5s., 51. 5s., to 61. 0s.; Yearlings, 11. 10s., 21. 10s., to 31. 15s. The import of foreign hops into London last week consisted of 276 bales from Antwerp, 10 from Boulogne, 25 from Dunkirk, 74 from Hamburg, 1,028 from New York, and 158 from Rotterdam.

POTATOES. — BOROUGH AND SPITALFIELDS. — Monday, March 14. — Supplies have come moderately to market. There has been a fair demand for most descriptions, but prices have been supported. The import into London last week consisted of 1,552 bags 96 bales from Antwerp, 93 sacks from Boulogne, 349 sacks from Dunkirk, 10 bags from Rotterdam, and 869 bags from Brussels. English Shaws, 120s. to 130s. per ton; English Regents, 75s. to 110s. per ton; Scotch Regents, 75s. to 110s. per ton; Scotch rocks, 70s. to 75s. per ton; French, 60s. to 70s. per ton.

SEED, Monday, March 14. — The few fine samples of English cloverseed which come out meet a ready sale as they appear at high prices. Foreign red samples are held with much firmness. Choice English trefoil was very dear, with a steady sale. Useful foreign qualities were held at late rates. White cloverseed remains very dear, and are taken off in small lots, to suit the immediate wants of the buyers at extreme prices. There was no material variation in the value of mustard-seeds. White samples sell steadily. Foreign tares realised more money. Canary-seed keeps up in value.

WOOL, Monday, March 14. — Although the business doing has been only moderate, the market has been firm, and prices have been well supported. The new clip will make its appearance in the market shortly.

OIL, Monday, March 14. — Linseed and rape oils have been purchased to a fair extent, and full prices have been realised. Palm oil has experienced a moderate export inquiry, but cocoa-nut and olive have been dull.

TALLOW, Monday, March 14. — The market has been quiet. Y. C., spot, 46s. 3d. per cwt. Town tallow, 44s. net cash.

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BROOCHES, NINEVEH, „ £3 0

BROOCHES, SAXON, „ £4 0

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CHAINS, PRINCESS, „ £2 0

CHAINS, CYLINDER, „ £3 0

CHAINS, CURB, „ £4 0

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EARRINGS, ETRUSCAN, „ £1 10

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GOLD WATCHES, ¾-PLATE, £16 16

GOLD WATCHES, „ £20 0

GOLD WATCHES, KEYLESS £15 10

GOLD WATCHES, „ £22 0

GOLD WATCHES (HUNTING), £18 18

CLOCKS, CARRIAGE, £5 0

CLOCKS, „ (STRIKING), £7 7

CLOCKS, „ „ (ON GONG), £12 12

CLOCKS, LIBRARY (MARBLE), £4 0

CLOCKS, „ „ „ £10 12

CLOCKS, „ „ „ £14 0

CLOCKS, „ „ (ORMOLU), £10 0

CLOCKS, „ „ „ £15 0

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AT a **MEETING** of the **COMMITTEE** of **DEPUTIES** of **PROTESTANT DISSENTERS** of the three Denominations—**PRESBYTERIAN, INDEPENDENT, and BAPTIST**—in and within twelve miles of London, appointed to protect their civil rights, specially convened to consider the **ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL**, and held at No. 66, OLD BAILEY, on 10th MARCH, 1870.

Present—**JOHN GLOVER, Esq.**, in the chair.

RESOLVED—

1. That the Committee fully appreciate the desire manifested by the Government to settle the difficulties which appear to be inherent in the Education Question. They regret, however, that they are constrained to oppose the provisions in the Bill which refer to the religious instruction to be given in the Elementary Schools already in existence, as well as those which may hereafter be established.

2. That in reference to this important subject the Committee approve of the amendments proposed by Mr. Winterbotham, M.P. for Stroud, and are of opinion that if these amendments should be adopted by Parliament they will practically insure the freedom of action which parents ought to enjoy in the religious instruction of their children, and will still preserve the liberty of religious teaching in the Schools themselves.

3. That the Committee consider the delay of twelve months in establishing the proposed School Boards not only unnecessary, but likely to prove injurious to the cause of education.

4. That such alterations should be made in the Bill as will give the Education Department of Government the power of interfering in any school district where the attendance of children in existing Schools may be insufficient as well as where the school accommodation is inadequate to the wants of the neighbourhood.

C. SHEPHEARD, Secretary.

78, Coleman-street, London.

PETITION in DEFENCE of RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AGAINST the ATTACKS of the NATIONAL EDUCATION LEAGUE.

To the **HONOURABLE** the **COMMONS** of the **UNITED KINGDOM** in **PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED**.

The humble Petition of the undersigned

Sheweth,—That the principle of compulsory attendance of children at schools from which the Bible is excluded, and also of compulsory payment of rates in support of such schools, is repugnant to the religious feelings of your Petitioners, and involves a direct violation of religious liberty.

Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray your honourable House not to legislate any such compulsory attendance or payment.

And your Petitioners will ever pray, &c.

BURIAL LAWS AMENDMENT BILL.—At a MEETING of the COMMITTEE of the SURREY CONGREGATIONAL UNION, held MARCH 4, 1870.

IT WAS RESOLVED—

1. That this Committee regards it as a great injustice to Nonconformists that, while all the inhabitants of a parish have the right of interment in the parochial churchyard, no other service can be used than that of the Church of England, and no other ministers can officiate than the clergy of that Church.

2. That the refusal of Christian burial to the unbaptized, and the illegal conduct of many of the Established clergy, in refusing to bury even baptized persons, render it absolutely necessary that the existing restriction should be abolished by the Legislature.

3. That, for these reasons, the Committee highly approve of the Burial Laws Amendment Bill brought in by Mr. Osborne Morgan, M.P., and expresses the hope that it will be supported by the entire Liberal party in the House of Commons.

J. CARVELL WILLIAMS, Chairman.

F. STAPLETON, } Secretaries.

A. BUZACOTT, }

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The next **HALF-YEARLY ELECTION** will take place at 18, SOUTH-STREET, FINSBURY, on **TUESDAY, March 29th, 1870.**

The Poll will commence at Eleven o'clock and close at One precisely.

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